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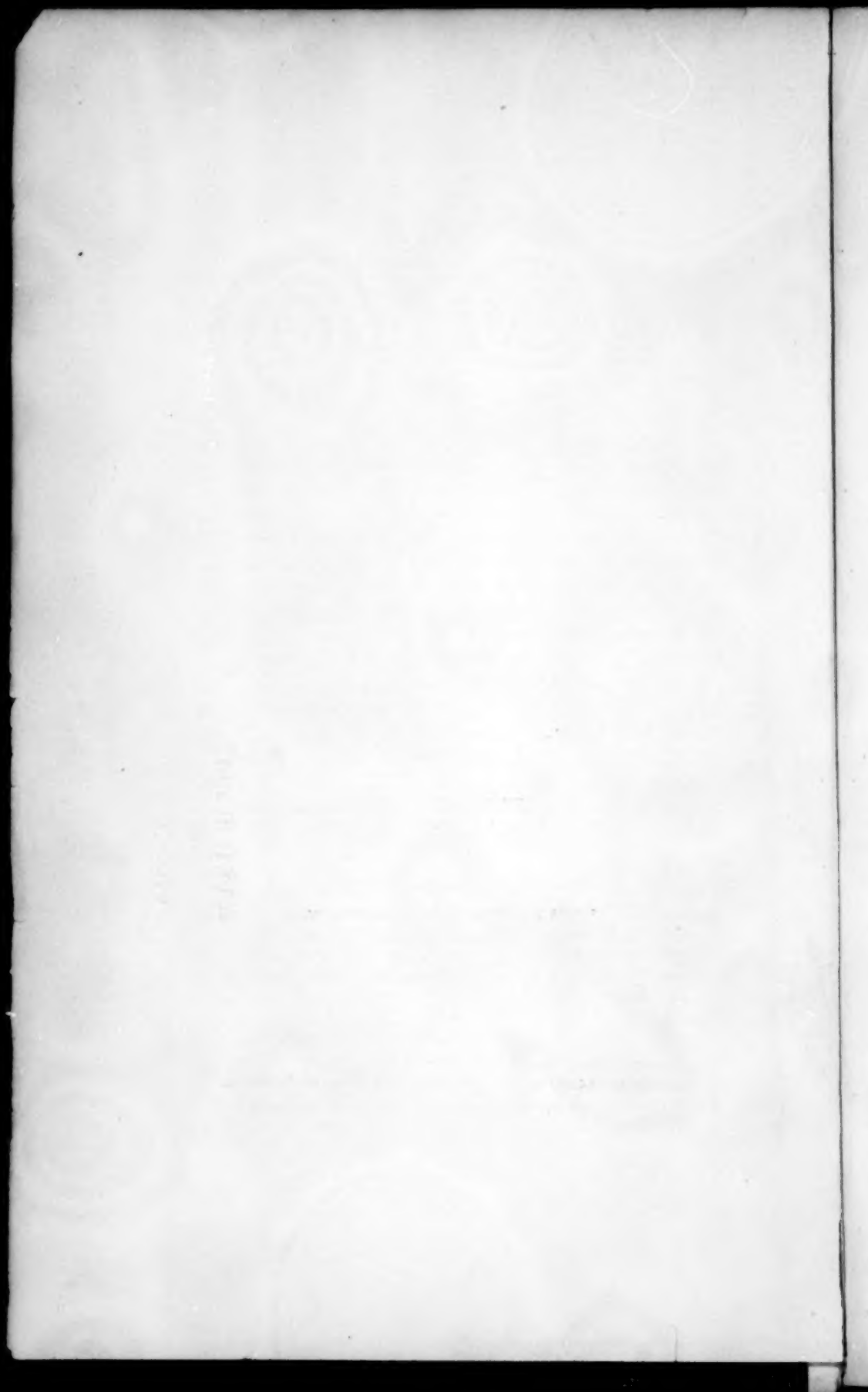
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THE STUDY OF THE NEGRO PROBLEMS.

The present period in the development of sociological study is a trying one; it is the period of observation, research and comparison—work always wearisome, often aimless, without well-settled principles and guiding lines, and subject ever to the pertinent criticism: What, after all, has been accomplished? To this the one positive answer which years of research and speculation have been able to return is that the phenomena of society are worth the most careful and systematic study, and whether or not this study may eventually lead to a systematic body of knowledge deserving the name of science, it cannot in any case fail to give the world a mass of truth worth the knowing.

Being then in a period of observation and comparison, we must confess to ourselves that the sociologists of few nations have so good an opportunity for observing the growth and evolution of society as those of the United States. The rapid rise of a young country, the vast social changes, the wonderful economic development, the bold political experiments, and the contact of varying moral standards—all these make for American students crucial tests of social action, microcosmic reproductions of long centuries of

world history, and rapid—even violent—repetitions of great social problems. Here is a field for the sociologist—a field rich, but little worked, and full of great possibilities. European scholars envy our opportunities and it must be said to our credit that great interest in the observation of social phenomena has been aroused in the last decade—an interest of which much is ephemeral and superficial, but which opens the way for broad scholarship and scientific effort.

In one field, however,—and a field perhaps larger than any other single domain of social phenomena, there does not seem to have been awakened as yet a fitting realization of the opportunities for scientific inquiry. This is the group of social phenomena arising from the presence in this land of eight million persons of African descent.

It is my purpose in this paper to discuss certain considerations concerning the study of the social problems affecting American Negroes; first, as to the historical development of these problems; then as to the necessity for their careful systematic study at the present time; thirdly, as to the results of scientific study of the Negro up to this time; fourthly, as to the scope and method which future scientific inquiry should take, and, lastly, regarding the agencies by which this work can best be carried out.

#### I. DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO PROBLEMS.

A social problem is the failure of an organized social group to realize its group ideals, through the inability to adapt a certain desired line of action to given conditions of life. If, for instance, a government founded on universal manhood suffrage has a portion of its population so ignorant as to be unable to vote intelligently, such ignorance becomes a menacing social problem. The impossibility of economic and social development in a community where a large per cent of the population refuse to abide by the social rules of order, makes a problem of crime and lawlessness.



Prostitution becomes a social problem when the demands of luxurious home life conflict with marriage customs.

Thus a social problem is ever a relation between conditions and action, and as conditions and actions vary and change from group to group from time to time and from place to place, so social problems change, develop and grow. Consequently, though we ordinarily speak of the Negro problem as though it were one unchanged question, students must recognize the obvious facts that this problem, like others, has had a long historical development, has changed with the growth and evolution of the nation; moreover, that it is not *one* problem, but rather a plexus of social problems, some new, some old, some simple, some complex; and these problems have their one bond of unity in the act that they group themselves about those Africans whom two centuries of slave-trading brought into the land.

In the latter part of the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth centuries, the central and all-absorbing economic need of America was the creation of a proper labor supply to develop American wealth. This question had been answered in the West Indies by enslaving Indians and Negroes. In the colonies of the mainland it was answered by the importation of Negroes and indented servants. Immediately then there arose the question of the legal status of these slaves and servants; and dozens of enactments, from Massachusetts to Georgia, were made "for the proper regulation of slaves and servants." Such statutes sought to solve problems of labor and not of race or color. Two circumstances, however, soon began to differentiate in the problem of labor, problems which concerned slaves for life from those which concerned servants for limited periods; and these circumstances were the economic superiority of the slave system, and the fact that the slaves were neither of the same race, language nor religion as the servants and their masters. In laboring classes thus widely separated there naturally arose a difference in legal and



social standing. Colonial statutes soon ceased to embrace the regulations applying to slaves and servants in one chapter, and laws were passed for servants on the one hand and for Negro slaves on the other.

As slave labor, under the peculiar conditions of colonial life, increased in value and efficiency, the importations of Africans increased, while those of indented servants decreased; this gave rise to new social problems, namely, those of protecting a feeble civilization against an influx of barbarism and heathenism. Between 1750 and 1800 an increasing number of laws began to form a peculiar and systematic slave code based on a distinct idea of social caste. Even, as this slave code was developing, new social conditions changed the aspect of the problems. The laws hitherto had been made to fit a class distinguished by its condition more than by its race or color. There arose now, however, a class of English-speaking Negroes born on American soil, and members of Christian churches; there sprang from illicit intercourse and considerable intermarriage with indented servants, a number of persons of mixed blood; there was also created by emancipation and the birth of black sons of white women a new class of free Negroes: all these developments led to a distinct beginning of group life among Negroes. Repeated attempts at organized insurrection were made; wholesale running away, like that which established the exiles in Florida, was resorted to; and a class of black landholders and voters arose. Such social movements brought the colonists face to face with new and serious problems; which they sought at first to settle in curious ways, denying the rite of baptism, establishing the legal presumption that all Negroes and mulattoes were slaves, and finally changing the Slave Code into a Black Code, replacing a caste of condition by a caste of race, harshly stopping legal sexual intercourse, and seeking to prevent further complications by restricting and even suppressing the slave-trade.

This concerted and determined action again changed the character of the Negro problems, but they did not cease to be grave. The inability of the Negro to escape from a servile caste into political freedom turned the problems of the group into problems of family life. On the separated plantations and in households the Negro became a constituent member of the family, speaking its language, worshipping in its churches, sharing its traditions, bearing its name, and sometimes sharing its blood; the talented slaves found large freedom in the intimate intercourse with the family which they enjoyed; they lost many traditions of their fatherland, and their ideals blended with the ideals of their new country. Some men began to see in this development a physical, economic and moral danger to the land, and they busied themselves with questions as to how they might provide for the development of white and black without demoralizing the one or amalgamating with the other. The solution of these difficulties was sought in a widespread attempt to eliminate the Negro from the family as he had formerly been eliminated from the state, by a process of emancipation that made him and his sons not even half-free, with the indefinite notion of colonizing the anomalous serfs thus created. This policy was carried out until one-half the land and one-sixth of the Negroes were quasi-freemen.

Just as the nation was on the point of realizing the futility of colonization, one of those strange incalculable world movements began to be felt throughout civilized states—a movement so vast that we call it the economic revolution of the nineteenth century. A world demand for crops peculiarly suited to the South, substituted in Europe the factory system for the house industry, and in America the large plantation slave system for the family patriarchy; slavery became an industrial system and not a training school for serfdom; the Black Codes underwent a sudden transformation which hardened the lot of the slave,

facilitated the slave trade, hindered further emancipation and rendered the condition of the free Negro unbearable. The question of race and color in America assumed a new and peculiar importance when it thus lay at the basis of some of the world's greatest industries.

The change in industrial conditions, however, not only affected the demands of a world market, but so increased the efficiency of labor, that a labor system, which in 1750 was eminently successful, soon became under the altered conditions of 1850 not only an economic monstrosity, but a political menace, and so rapidly did the crisis develop that the whole evolution of the nation came to a standstill, and the settlement of our social problems had to be left to the clumsy method of brute force.

So far as the Negro race is concerned, the Civil War simply left us face to face with the same sort of problems of social condition and caste which were beginning to face the nation a century ago. It is these problems that we are to-day somewhat helplessly—not to say carelessly—facing, forgetful that they are living, growing social questions whose progeny will survive to curse the nation, unless we grapple with them manfully and intelligently.

## 2. THE PRESENT NEGRO PROBLEMS.

Such are some of the changes of condition and social movement which have, since 1619, altered and broadened the social problems grouped about the American Negro. In this development of successive questions about one centre, there is nothing peculiar to American history. Given any fixed condition or fact—a river Nile, a range of Alps, an alien race, or a national idea—and problems of society will at every stage of advance group themselves about it. All social growth means a succession of social problems—they constitute growth, they denote that laborious and often baffling adjustment of action and condition which is the essence of progress, and while a particular

fact or circumstance may serve in one country as a rallying point of many intricate questions of adjustment, the absence of that particular fact would not mean the absence of all social problems. Questions of labor, caste, ignorance and race were bound to arise in America; they were simply complicated here and intensified there by the presence of the Negro.

Turning now from this brief summary of the varied phases of these questions, let us inquire somewhat more carefully into the form under which the Negro problems present themselves to-day after 275 years of evolution. Their existence is plainly manifested by the fact that a definitely segregated mass of eight millions of Americans do not wholly share the national life of the people; are not an integral part of the social body. The points at which they fail to be incorporated into this group life constitute the particular Negro problems, which can be divided into two distinct but correlated parts, depending on two facts:

First—Negroes do not share the full national life because as a mass they have not reached a sufficiently high grade of culture.

Secondly—They do not share the full national life because there has always existed in America a conviction—varying in intensity, but always widespread—that people of Negro blood should not be admitted into the group life of the nation no matter what their condition might be.

Considering the problems arising from the backward development of Negroes, we may say that the mass of this race does not reach the social standards of the nation with respect to

- (a) Economic condition.
- (b) Mental training.
- (c) Social efficiency.

Even if special legislation and organized relief intervene, freedmen always start life under an economic disadvantage which generations, perhaps centuries, cannot overcome.

Again, of all the important constituent parts of our nation, the Negro is by far the most ignorant; nearly half of the race are absolutely illiterate, only a minority of the other half have thorough common school training, and but a remnant are liberally educated. The great deficiency of the Negro, however, is his small knowledge of the art of organized social life—that last expression of human culture. His development in group life was abruptly broken off by the slave ship, directed into abnormal channels and dwarfed by the Black Codes, and suddenly wrenched anew by the Emancipation Proclamation. He finds himself, therefore, peculiarly weak in that nice adaptation of individual life to the life of the group which is the essence of civilization. This is shown in the grosser forms of sexual immorality, disease and crime, and also in the difficulty of race organization for common ends in economic or in intellectual lines.

For these reasons the Negro would fall behind any average modern nation, and he is unusually handicapped in the midst of a nation which excels in its extraordinary economic development, its average of popular intelligence and in the boldness of its experiments in organized social life.

These problems of poverty, ignorance and social degradation differ from similar problems the world over in one important particular, and that is the fact that they are complicated by a peculiar environment. This constitutes the second class of Negro problems, and they rest, as has been said, on the widespread conviction among Americans that no persons of Negro descent should become constituent members of the social body. This feeling gives rise to economic problems, to educational problems, and nice questions of social morality; it makes it more difficult for black men to earn a living or spend their earnings as they will; it gives them poorer school facilities and restricted contact with cultured classes; and it becomes, throughout the land, a cause and excuse for discontent, lawlessness, laziness and injustice.



### 3. THE NECESSITY OF CAREFULLY STUDYING THESE PROBLEMS.

Such, barely stated, are the elements of the present Negro problems. It is to little purpose however to name the elements of a problem unless we can also say accurately to what extent each element enters into the final result: whether, for instance, the present difficulties arise more largely from ignorance than from prejudice, or *vice versa*. This we do not know, and here it is that every intelligent discussion of the American Negro comes to a standstill. Nearly a hundred years ago Thomas Jefferson complained that the nation had never studied the real condition of the slaves and that, therefore, all general conclusions about them were extremely hazardous. We of another age can scarcely say that we have made material progress in this study. Yet these problems, so vast and intricate, demanding trained research and expert analysis, touching questions that affect the very foundation of the republic and of human progress, increasing and multiplying year by year, would seem to urge the nation with increasing force to measure and trace and understand thoroughly the underlying elements of this example of human evolution.

Now first we should study the Negro problems in order to distinguish between the different and distinct problems affecting this race. Nothing makes intelligent discussion of the Negro's position so fruitless as the repeated failure to discriminate between the different questions that concern him. If a Negro discusses the question, he is apt to discuss simply the problem of race prejudice; if a Southern white man writes on the subject he is apt to discuss problems of ignorance, crime and social degradation; and yet each calls the problem he discusses *the* Negro problem, leaving in the dark background the really crucial question as to the relative importance of the many problems involved. Before we can begin to study the Negro intelligently, we

must realize definitely that not only is he affected by all the varying social forces that act on any nation at his stage of advancement, but that in addition to these there is reacting upon him the mighty power of a peculiar and unusual social environment which affects to some extent every other social force.

In the second place we should seek to know and measure carefully all the forces and conditions that go to make up these different problems, to trace the historical development of these conditions, and discover as far as possible the probable trend of further development. Without doubt this would be difficult work, and it can with much truth be objected that we cannot ascertain, by the methods of sociological research known to us, all such facts thoroughly and accurately. To this objection it is only necessary to answer that however difficult it may be to know all about the Negro, it is certain that we can know vastly more than we do, and that we can have our knowledge in more systematic and intelligible form. As things are, our opinions upon the Negro are more matters of faith than of knowledge. Every schoolboy is ready to discuss the matter, and there are few men that have not settled convictions. Such a situation is dangerous. Whenever any nation allows impulse, whim or hasty conjecture to usurp the place of conscious, normative, intelligent action, it is in grave danger. The sole aim of any society is to settle its problems in accordance with its highest ideals, and the only rational method of accomplishing this is to study those problems in the light of the best scientific research.

Finally, the American Negro deserves study for the great end of advancing the cause of science in general. No such opportunity to watch and measure the history and development of a great race of men ever presented itself to the scholars of a modern nation. If they miss this opportunity — if they do the work in a slipshod, unsystematic manner — if they dally with the truth to humor the whims of the day,



they do far more than hurt the good name of the American people; they hurt the cause of scientific truth the world over, they voluntarily decrease human knowledge of a universe of which we are ignorant enough, and they degrade the high end of truth-seeking in a day when they need more and more to dwell upon its sanctity.

#### 4. THE WORK ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED.

It may be said that it is not altogether correct to assert that few attempts have been made to study these problems or to put the nation in possession of a body of truth in accordance with which it might act intelligently. It is far from my purpose to disparage in any way the work already done by students of these questions; much valuable effort has without doubt been put upon the field, and yet a careful survey of the field seems but to emphasize the fact that the work done bears but small proportion to the work still to be done.\*

Moreover the studies made hitherto can as a whole be justly criticised in three particulars: (1) They have not

\*A bibliography of the American Negro is a much needed undertaking. The existing literature may be summarized briefly as follows: In the line of historical research there are such general studies of the Negro as Williams' "History of the Negro Race in America," Wilson's, Goodell's, Blake's, Copley's, Greeley's and Cobb's studies of slavery, and the treatment of the subject in the general histories of Bancroft, Von Holst and others. We have, too, brief special histories of the institution of slavery in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the District of Columbia, Maryland and North Carolina. The slave trade has been studied by Clarkson, Buxton, Benezet, Carey and others; Miss McDougall has written a monograph on fugitive slaves; the Slave Codes have been digested by Hurd, Stroud, Wheeler, Goodell and Cobb; the economic aspects of the slave system were brilliantly outlined by Cairnes, and a great amount of material is available, showing the development of anti-slavery opinion. Of statistical and sociological material the United States Government has collected much in its census and bureau reports; and congressional investigations, and state governments and societies have added something to this. Moreover, we have the statistical studies of DeBow, Helper, Gannett and Hoffman, the observations of Olmsted and Kemble, and the studies and interpretations by Chambers, Otken, Bruce, Cable, Fortune, Brackett, Ingle and Tourgée; foreign students, from De Tocqueville and Martineau to Halle and Bryce, have studied the subject; something has been done in collecting folklore and music, and in studying dialect, and some anthropological material has been collected. Beside this, there is a mass of periodical literature, of all degrees of value, teeming with opinions, observations, personal experiences and discussions.

been based on a thorough knowledge of details; (2) they have been unsystematical; (3) they have been uncritical.

In few subjects have historians been more content to go on indefinitely repeating current traditions and uninvestigated facts. We are still gravely told that the slave trade ceased in 1808, that the docility of Africans made slave insurrections almost unknown, and that the Negro never developed in this country a self-conscious group life before 1860. In the hasty endeavor to cover a broad subject when the details were unknown, much superficial work has been current, like that, for instance, of a newspaper reporter who spent "the odd intervals of leisure in active newspaper work" for "nearly eighteen months," in the District of Columbia, and forthwith published a study of 80,000 Negroes, with observations on their institutions and development.

Again, the work done has been lamentably unsystematic and fragmentary. Scientific work must be subdivided, but conclusions which affect the whole subject must be based on a study of the whole. One cannot study the Negro in freedom and come to general conclusions about his destiny without knowing his history in slavery. A vast set of problems having a common centre must, too, be studied according to some general plan, if the work of different students is to be compared or to go toward building a unified body of knowledge. A plan once begun must be carried out, and not like that of our erratic census reports, after allowing us to follow the size of farms in the South for three decades, suddenly leave us wondering as to the relation of farms and farm families. Students of black codes should not stop suddenly with 1863, and travelers and observers whose testimony would be of great value if arranged with some system and reasonably limited in time and space, must not ramble on without definite plan or purpose and render their whole work of doubtful value.

Most unfortunate of all, however, is the fact that so much of the work done on the Negro question is notoriously

uncritical; uncritical from lack of discrimination in the selection and weighing of evidence; uncritical in choosing the proper point of view from which to study these problems, and, finally, uncritical from the distinct bias in the minds of so many writers. To illustrate, the layman who does not pretend to first hand knowledge of the subject and who would learn of students is to-day woefully puzzled by absolutely contradictory evidence. One student declares that Negroes are advancing in knowledge and ability; that they are working, establishing homes, and going into business, and that the problem will soon be one of the past. Another student of equal learning declares that the Negro is degenerating—sinking into crime and social immorality, receiving little help from education, still in the main a menial servant, and destined in a short time to settle the problem by dying entirely out. Such and many other contradictory conclusions arise from the uncritical use of material. A visitor to a great Negro school in the South catches the inspiration of youth, studies the work of graduates, and imbibes the hopes of teachers and immediately infers from the situation of a few hundred the general condition of a population numbering twice that of Holland. A college graduate sees the slums of a Southern city, looks at the plantation field hands, and has some experience with Negro servants, and from the laziness, crime and disease which he finds, draws conclusions as to eight millions of people, stretched from Maine to Texas and from Florida to Washington. We continually judge the whole from the part we are familiar with; we continually assume the material we have at hand to be typical; we reverently receive a column of figures without asking who collected them, how they were arranged, how far they are valid and what chances of error they contain; we receive the testimony of men without asking whether they were trained or ignorant, careful or careless, truthful or given to exaggeration, and, above all, whether they are giving facts or opinions. It is so easy for a

man who has already formed his conclusions to receive any and all testimony in their favor without carefully weighing and testing it, that we sometimes find in serious scientific studies very curious proof of broad conclusions. To cite an extreme case, in a recently published study of the Negro, a part of the argument as to the physical condition of all these millions, is made to rest on the measurement of fifteen black boys in a New York reformatory.

The widespread habit of studying the Negro from one point of view only, that of his influence on the white inhabitants, is also responsible for much uncritical work. The slaves are generally treated as one inert changeless mass, and most studies of slavery apparently have no conception of a social evolution and development among them. The slave code of a state is given, the progress of anti-slavery sentiment, the economic results of the system and the general influence of man on master are studied, but of the slave himself, of his group life and social institutions, of remaining traces of his African tribal life, of his amusements, his conversion to Christianity, his acquiring of the English tongue—in fine, of his whole reaction against his environment, of all this we hear little or nothing, and would apparently be expected to believe that the Negro arose from the dead in 1863. Yet all the testimony of law and custom, of tradition and present social condition, shows us that the Negro at the time of emancipation had passed through a social evolution which far separated him from his savage ancestors.

The most baneful cause of uncritical study of the Negro is the manifest and far-reaching bias of writers. Americans are born in many cases with deep, fierce convictions on the Negro question, and in other cases imbibe them from their environment. When such men come to write on the subject, without technical training, without breadth of view, and in some cases without a deep sense of the sanctity of scientific truth, their testimony, however interesting

as opinion, must of necessity be worthless as science. Thus too often the testimony of Negroes and their friends has to be thrown out of court on account of the manifest prejudice of the writers; on the other hand, the testimony of many other writers in the North and especially in the South has to be received with reserve on account of too evident bias.

Such facts make the path of students and foreign observers peculiarly thorny. The foreigner's views, if he be not exceptionally astute, will depend largely on his letters of introduction; the home student's views, on his birthplace and parentage. All students are apt to fail to recognize the magnitude and importance of these problems, and to succumb to the vulgar temptation of basing on any little contribution they make to the study of these problems, general conclusions as to the origin and destiny of the Negro people in time and eternity. Thus we possess endless final judgments as to the American Negro emanating from men of influence and learning, in the very face of the fact known to every accurate student, that there exists to-day no sufficient material of proven reliability, upon which any scientist can base definite and final conclusions as to the present condition and tendencies of the eight million American Negroes; and that any person or publication purporting to give such conclusions simply makes statements which go beyond the reasonably proven evidence.

##### 5. A PROGRAM OF FUTURE STUDY.

If we admit the deep importance of the Negro problems, the necessity of studying them, and certain shortcomings in work done up to this time, it would seem to be the clear duty of the American people, in the interests of scientific knowledge and social reform, to begin a broad and systematic study of the history and condition of the American Negroes. The scope and method of this study, however, needs to be generally agreed upon beforehand in its main



outlines, not to hinder the freedom of individual students, but to systematize and unify effort so as to cover the wide field of investigation.

The scope of any social study is first of all limited by the general attitude of public opinion toward truth and truth-seeking. If in regard to any social problem there is for any reason a persistent refusal on the part of the people to allow the truth to be known, then manifestly that problem cannot be studied. Undoubtedly much of the unsatisfactory work already done with regard to the Negro is due to this cause; the intense feeling that preceded and followed the war made a calm balanced research next to impossible. Even to-day there are certain phases of this question which we cannot hope to be allowed to study dispassionately and thoroughly, and these phases, too, are naturally those uppermost in the public mind. For instance, it is extremely doubtful if any satisfactory study of Negro crime and lynching can be made for a generation or more, in the present condition of the public mind, which renders it almost impossible to get at the facts and real conditions. On the other hand, public opinion has in the last decade become sufficiently liberal to open a broad field of investigation to students, and here lies the chance for effective work.

The right to enter this field undisturbed and untrammelled will depend largely on the attitude of science itself. Students must be careful to insist that science as such—be it physics, chemistry, psychology, or sociology—has but one simple aim: the discovery of truth. Its results lie open for the use of all men—merchants, physicians, men of letters, and philanthropists, but the aim of science itself is simple truth. Any attempt to give it a double aim, to make social reform the immediate instead of the mediate object of a search for truth, will inevitably tend to defeat both objects. The frequent alliance of sociological research with various panaceas and particular schemes of reform, has

resulted in closely connecting social investigation with a good deal of groundless assumption and humbug in the popular mind. There will be at first some difficulty in bringing the Southern people, both black and white, to conceive of an earnest, careful study of the Negro problem which has not back of it some scheme of race amalgamation, political jobbery, or deportation to Africa. The new study of the American Negro must avoid such misapprehensions from the outset, by insisting that historical and statistical research has but one object, the ascertainment of the facts as to the social forces and conditions of one-eighth of the inhabitants of the land. Only by such rigid adherence to the true object of the scholar, can statesmen and philanthropists of all shades of belief be put into possession of a reliable body of truth which may guide their efforts to the best and largest success.

In the next place, a study of the Negro, like the study of any subject, must start out with certain generally admitted postulates. We must admit, for instance, that the field of study is large and varying, and that what is true of the Negro in Massachusetts is not necessarily true of the Negro in Louisiana; that what was true of the Negro in 1850 was not necessarily true in 1750; and that there are many distinct social problems affecting the Negro. Finally, if we would rally to this common ground of scientific inquiry all partisans and advocates, we must explicitly admit what all implicitly postulate—namely, that the Negro is a member of the human race, and as one who, in the light of history and experience, is capable to a degree of improvement and culture, is entitled to have his interests considered according to his numbers in all conclusions as to the common weal.

With these preliminary considerations we may say that the study of the Negro falls naturally into two categories, which though difficult to separate in practice, must for the sake of logical clearness, be kept distinct. They are (a)



the study of the Negro as a social group, (*b*) the study of his peculiar social environment.

The study of the Negro as a social group may be, for convenience, divided into four not exactly logical but seemingly most practicable divisions, viz:

1. Historical study,
2. Statistical investigation.
3. Anthropological measurement.
4. Sociological interpretation.

The material at hand for historical research is rich and abundant; there are the colonial statutes and records, the partially accessible archives of Great Britain, France and Spain, the collections of historical societies, the vast number of executive and congressional reports and documents, the state statutes, reports and publications, the reports of institutions and societies, the personal narratives and opinions of various observers and the periodical press covering nearly three centuries. From these sources can be gathered much new information upon the economic and social development of the Negro, upon the rise and decline of the slave-trade, the character, distribution and state of culture of the Africans, the evolution of the slave codes as expressing the life of the South, the rise of such peculiar expressions of Negro social history, as the Negro church, the economics of plantation life, the possession of private property by slaves, and the history of the oft-forgotten class of free Negroes. Such historical research must be subdivided in space and limited in time by the nature of the subject, the history of the different colonies and groups being followed and compared, the different periods of development receiving special study, and the whole subject being reviewed from different aspects.

The collection of statistics should be carried on with increased care and thoroughness. It is no credit to a great modern nation that so much well-grounded doubt can be thrown on our present knowledge of the simple matters of

number, age, sex and conjugal condition in regard to our Negro population. General statistical investigations should avoid seeking to tabulate more intricate social conditions than the ones indicated. The concrete social status of the Negro can only be ascertained by intensive studies carried on in definitely limited localities, by competent investigators, in accordance with one general plan. Statistical study by groups is apt to be more accurately done and more easily accomplished, and able to secure more competent and responsible agents than any general census. General averages in so complicated a subject are apt to be dangerously misleading. This study should seek to ascertain by the most approved methods of social measurement the size and condition of families, the occupations and wages, the illiteracy of adults and education of children, the standard of living, the character of the dwellings, the property owned and rents paid, and the character of the organized group life. Such investigations should be extended until they cover the typical group life of Negroes in all sections of the land and should be so repeated from time to time in the same localities and with the same methods, as to be a measure of social development.

The third division of study is anthropological measurement, and it includes a scientific study of the Negro body. The most obvious peculiarity of the Negro—a peculiarity which is a large element in many of the problems affecting him—is his physical unlikeness to the people with whom he has been brought into contact. This difference is so striking that it has become the basis of a mass of theory, assumption and suggestion which is deep-rooted and yet rests on the flimsiest basis of scientific fact. That there are differences between the white and black races is certain, but just what those differences are is known to none with an approach to accuracy. Yet here in America is the most remarkable opportunity ever offered of studying these differences, of noting influences of climate and physical environment, and

particularly of studying the effect of amalgamating two of the most diverse races in the world—another subject which rests under a cloud of ignorance.

The fourth division of this investigation is sociological interpretation; it should include the arrangement and interpretation of historical and statistical matter in the light of the experience of other nations and other ages; it should aim to study those finer manifestations of social life which history can but mention and which statistics can not count, such as the expression of Negro life as found in their hundred newspapers, their considerable literature, their music and folklore and their germ of esthetic life—in fine, in all the movements and customs among them that manifest the existence of a distinct social mind.

The second category of studies of the Negro has to do with his peculiar social environment. It will be difficult, as has been intimated, to separate a study of the group from a study of the environment, and yet the group action and the reaction of the surroundings must be kept clearly distinct if we expect to comprehend the Negro problems. The study of the environment may be carried on at the same time with a study of the group, only the two sets of forces must receive distinct measurement.

In such a field of inquiry it will be found difficult to do more than subdivide inquiry in time and space. The attempt should be made to isolate and study the tangible phenomena of Negro prejudice in all possible cases; its effect on the Negro's physical development, on his mental acquisitiveness, on his moral and social condition, as manifested in economic life, in legal sanctions and in crime and lawlessness. So, too, the influence of that same prejudice on American life and character would explain the otherwise inexplicable changes through which Negro prejudice has passed.

The plan of study thus sketched is, without doubt, long, difficult and costly, and yet is not more than commensurable

with the size and importance of the subject with which it is to deal. It will take years and decades to carry out such a plan, with the barest measure of success, and yet there can be no doubt but that this plan or something similar to it, points to the quickest path toward the ultimate solution of the present difficulties.

#### 6. THE PROPER AGENTS FOR THIS WORK.

In conclusion it will not be out of place to suggest the agencies which seem best fitted to carry out a work of this magnitude. There will, without doubt, always be room for the individual working alone as he wills; if, however, we wish to cover the field systematically, and in reasonable time, only organized and concerted efforts will avail; and the requisite means, skill and preparation for such work can be furnished by two agencies alone: the government and the university.

For simple, definite inquiries carried out periodically on a broad scale we should depend on the national and state governments. The decennial census properly organized under civil service rules should be the greatest single agency for collecting general information as to the Negro. If, however, the present Congress cannot be induced to organize a census bureau under proper Civil Service rules, and in accordance with the best expert advice, we must continue for many years more to depend on clumsy and ignorant methods of measurement in matters demanding accuracy and trained technique. It is possible also for the different national bureaus and for the state governments to study certain aspects of the Negro question over wide areas. A conspicuous example of this is the valuable educational statistics collected by Commissioner Harris, and the series of economic studies just instituted by the Bureau of Labor.

On the whole it may be laid down as axiomatic that government activity in the study of this problem should confine

itself mainly to the ascertainment of simple facts covering a broad field. For the study of these social problems in their more complicated aspects, where the desideratum is intensive study, by trained minds, according to the best methods, the only competent agency is the university. Indeed, in no better way could the American university repay the unusual munificence of its benefactors than by placing before the nation a body of scientific truth in the light of which they could solve some of their most vexing social problems.

It is to the credit of the University of Pennsylvania that she has been the first to recognize her duty in this respect, and in so far as restricted means and opportunity allowed, has attempted to study the Negro problems in a single definite locality. This work needs to be extended to other groups, and carried out with larger system; and here it would seem is the opportunity of the Southern Negro college. We hear much of higher Negro education, and yet all candid people know there does not exist to-day in the centre of Negro population a single first-class fully equipped institution devoted to the higher education of Negroes; not more than three Negro institutions in the South deserve the name of *college* at all; and yet what is a Negro college but a vast college settlement for the study of a particular set of peculiarly baffling problems? What more effective or suitable agency could be found in which to focus the scientific efforts of the great universities of the North and East, than an institution situated in the very heart of these social problems, and made the centre of careful historical and statistical research? Without doubt the first effective step toward the solving of the Negro question will be the endowment of a Negro college which is not merely a teaching body, but a centre of sociological research, in close connection and co-operation with Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins and the University of Pennsylvania.

In this direction the Negro conferences of Tuskegee and Hampton are tending; and there is already inaugurated an

actual beginning of work at Atlanta University. In 1896 this university brought into correspondence about one hundred Southern college-bred men and laid before them a plan of systematic investigation into certain problems of Negro city life, as, for instance, family conditions, dwellings, rents, ownership of homes, occupations, earnings, disease and death-rates. Each investigator took one or more small groups to study, and in this way fifty-nine groups, aggregating 5000 people in various parts of the country, were studied, and the results have been published by the United States Bureau of Labor. Such purely scientific work, done with an eye single to ascertaining true conditions, marks an era in our conception of the place of the Negro college, and it is certainly to be desired that Atlanta University may be enabled to continue this work as she proposes to do.

Finally the necessity must again be emphasized of keeping clearly before students the object of all science, amid the turmoil and intense feeling that clouds the discussion of a burning social question. We live in a day when in spite of the brilliant accomplishments of a remarkable century, there is current much flippant criticism of scientific work; when the truth-seeker is too often pictured as devoid of human sympathy, and careless of human ideals. We are still prone in spite of all our culture to sneer at the heroism of the laboratory while we cheer the swagger of the street broil. At such a time true lovers of humanity can only hold higher the pure ideals of science, and continue to insist that if we would solve a problem we must study it, and that there is but one coward on earth, and that is the coward that dare not know.

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## ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION IN FRANCE.

In no part of the world has the question of administrative centralization assumed such importance as in France. Public discussion of the subject has been almost continuous since the Revolution. It is furthermore characteristic of the French tendency toward abstract political theories that until recently this discussion touched only upon the more general and theoretical aspects of the question. In the last few years, however, the literature published on this subject has taken a more practical turn and attention has been directed toward the causes and sources of administrative centralization. It is the object of this paper to trace briefly these causes as well as to show the present tendencies in French administrative development.

The notion that centralization in France dates from the Revolution, or from Napoleon is far from correct. The name *généralité*, or *province*, it is true was changed to *département* during the Revolution. The territorial basis of these administrative districts was also changed in order to obliterate all recollections of the *ancien régime*, while the *intendant* who had ruled over the *généralité* now became the *préfet* with similar powers over the department. But neither in the real character of the organization, nor in the distribution of power between the central and local authorities, did any permanent important change form the pre-Revolutionary organization take place. Centralization had arisen long before the Revolution.

What then was the origin of this peculiar method of organization? To this it must be answered that centralization in France dates from the formation of the French



nation. It would be even more correct to reverse the order of the statement and say that France as a nation was created by the concentration of her political and administrative organization. A glance at the map of Europe as late as the fifteenth century, or a mere mention of the names of the French provinces at that time, will make this clear at once. After the dissolution of Charlemagne's Empire, what is now France was merely a heterogeneous mass composed of small principalities, many of them owing not even a nominal allegiance to the crown. Beginning with the latter half of the twelfth century came that tremendous struggle for supremacy between king and nobles which lasted over five hundred years. The different stages in the conflict and the progress of the central or local powers respectively are seen in the formation of the Council of Peers, the Pragmatic Sanction, the establishment of royal courts of justice, the revival of imperial traditions by the *légistes* or students of the Roman law, the civil war with the Protestants, the Fronde, the financial ruin of the bourgeois, the resulting interference of the crown in municipal affairs and the abolition of the provincial assemblies or *états provinciaux*. Beginning principally with Philippe Auguste and ending with Louis XIV. we find a strong, consistent and almost continuous policy of administrative concentration pursued by the French monarchs and their ministers, until finally France was consolidated into a homogeneous *état unitaire*. That this consolidation was the result of conscious racial unity, of natural affinity or community of economic interest (at that time), surely no one will care to maintain. The territory acquired by conquest or marriage had to be retained, the population absorbed and controlled, the royal authority must be extended over the new, and strengthened in the old parts of the kingdom.

But in what could the extension of royal authority consist? Certainly not in a mere declaration by the nobles of their submission to the royal will but rather in the extension

of the machinery of royal administration and in the subordination of the local organization to the central authorities. That is precisely what did occur. The internal history of France from the beginning of the thirteenth century on is largely a record of disputes as to whether the king or a particular baron was entitled to exercise a certain administrative power, to appoint to a certain judicial office, or as to whether the ordinances of a certain town must be approved by the crown before they were valid, etc.

Little by little the systematic policy of the king began to tell; the nobles, with some notable exceptions, as in the war of the Fronde, failed to present a united front, they were reduced to subjection one at a time and became a social rather than a political power. The cause of feudalism was lost. The people of Languedoc and of Languedoil, the Norman and the Acquitainian still retained, in part, their distinctive traits, their peculiar laws and customs. But the constantly increasing power of the king, the growing interference of the royal commissioners sent out from Paris to inspect and control the various local administrative bodies, even the burden of royal taxation itself, all tended to remind the inhabitants of the provinces that they owed allegiance to the king. Gradually the itinerant royal commissioner becomes a more or less permanent official with a fixed seat of activity. Under Richelieu the *commissaire départi dans les provinces* becomes the *intendant* whose functions are to direct the entire administration of the *généralité* according to instructions received from Paris. But the *intendant* represents in no sense the local or provincial government in the eyes of the people. His strongest efforts are directed toward the destruction of local self-government, and when, finally, these efforts are successful and the local *états provinciaux* are no longer convoked, there then remains no further obstacle to the royal will. Centralization has produced absolutism, and absolutism moulds the unity of the nation. This in brief is the pre-Revolutionary

history of administrative centralization and of its influence on the growth of the French nation.

When the Revolution came, a demand was at once made to revive the old provincial estates and to restore some degree of autonomy to the communes and localities. Local control of municipal police, of the amount and distribution of municipal taxation, free election of municipal officials, local jurisdiction of unimportant civil suits, etc., were all reasonably claimed by the local bodies as being within the proper field of their activity. These demands were granted by the Constituent Assembly in 1789, and the result was an administrative experiment which though short-lived was yet so interesting as to deserve a brief examination in passing. The law of December 14, 1789, granted to the communes or municipalities almost entire independence in matters affecting the communal budget, local taxation and loans and the establishment and administration of communal institutions as above mentioned. Central control was almost entirely abolished. The newly created "department" was endowed with relatively less power than the commune, but with a like degree of freedom from central control. Among the powers of the departmental organization were the apportionment of direct taxes among the municipalities, the surveillance of the collection of taxes, regulation of vagabondage and begging, supervision of hospitals, care and management of funds for the encouragement of agriculture and industry, public education, maintenance of the main roads, service of the militia, etc. These functions of the departments and communes respectively do not seem to an American at the present day to be unusually or excessively wide in their scope, but the change was sufficiently radical and violent in France at that time to insure its complete failure.

In considering this law, which was the most radical of all attempts at decentralization ever made in France,

one student of French administrative history, Monnet, has very properly called attention to the condition of political life in the various local bodies and particularly in the municipalities at that time, as well as to the peculiar character and extent of the law itself. Aside from the natural confusion and demoralization which the Revolution was constantly causing in local and communal administration, there were other important reasons for the failure of this measure. The communes had been unaccustomed to managing their own affairs under the régime of centralization previously existing. Again the more influential and talented men capable of taking part in the local administration had been called to Paris in the Convention or attracted thither by the political agitation, and, finally, those called on to conduct the new municipal organization were not as a rule experienced or capable men.

Lack of governmental experience in the stormy and turbulent period of the Revolution must alone have caused failure, but still another obstruction prevented the success of the new system, viz., the law of 1789 contained within itself the elements of failure. In their zeal to secure a decentralized organization the members of the Constituent Assembly had absolutely neglected all effective means of central control over the local assemblies and officials. The communes were well-nigh cut off from the central government. They were placed in such a position that although nominally subject to the supervision of the central authorities, they were in reality independent. The chief executive appointed only the ministers, all other important offices were filled by popular election. Now in order to prevent chaos in any system of administrative organization, one of two general methods of central control is necessary: either there must exist, as in America, a minute regulation of official duties prescribed by the legislature and a corresponding enforcement of these regulations by the judiciary or, as in most European countries, official

duties must be constantly regulated and defined by means of an administrative control exercised by the executive. The law of 1789 failed to provide either of these methods of control. As a consequence the local officials, affected by the feverish excitement of the times, were moved to secure the endorsement of their local constituents at all hazards rather than to obey the directions of the central government where the two came in conflict. For these causes the French administration, both local and national, soon after the passage of the law of 1789 fell into a state of indescribable anarchy and chaos.

Viewed in the light of this administrative disintegration it is not difficult to understand that the entire nation, weary of misrule and confusion, should gladly entrust supreme and dictatorial power to the hands of the directorate. In order to re-establish a government worthy the name it was necessary to put an end, once for all, to local defiance of national authority. Hence the Constitution of the Year III. and the administrative laws following. These measures simply revived the centralization of the *ancien régime* under a panoply of new names, and with the accompaniment of the modern American spoils system. To such a degree was this revival of the old organization with unique additions carried that the directorate at the height of its power controlled ministry, departments and communes by its actually exercised power of appointment. The saying that "Paris is the head and heart of France" became literally true. That such a colossal "machine," legalized by the constitution and supported by centuries of habit, should become the instrument of tyranny was but natural. It was only the inherent weakness in the composition of the central government itself and the advent of Napoleon that saved France from a still longer period of the same misrule. The Napoleonic centralization which followed the adoption of the Constitution of the Year VIII. and of the imperial constitution, contained nearly all the obnoxious elements of the



organization under the directorate, with this one important difference, that the administrative machinery of the empire was highly efficient and carried out to their smallest details the magnificent projects of the emperor. This fact alone led France to condone or at least to tolerate the imperfections of the new system.

The political changes of this time illustrate very clearly one aspect of the concentration of administrative power which is usually overlooked, viz., the ever present possibility of a *coup d'état* or the establishment of a dictatorship which is latent in every highly centralized organization. In no country but France could such a tyrannical influence be exerted by the capital over the rest of the land as was shown in the various and arbitrary changes of the Revolution. In no state with a less centralized organization could we find such a series of rapid shiftings of power and successful revolts as were developed in the Revolution of 1789, the establishment of the Directorate, the *coup d'état* of the first Napoleon, the Restoration, the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848, the second *coup d'état*, the paralysis of the entire country by the German occupation of the capital in 1871, and finally in the singular phenomenon presented by the rise of Boulangism. This remarkable succession of events is not a coincidence. The strength, and at the same time the weakness of France, is at the centre, and he who gains the capital has the entire state machinery in his power. Military concentration and the facility of rapid mobilization are often of primary importance, particularly in a military state, but will it be for a moment contended that a centralization of the entire *civil* administration is at all necessary to secure military concentration? Is it necessary in order that "the nation should rise in war as one man" for one man or one city to control the whole nation in all matters civil and military and at all times? Here then the astonishing facility, with which one man or body of men has so often controlled France to her sorrow finds at least

a partial explanation. Much in French national life that has been ascribed to the fickle and volatile character of the people is attributable to no such characteristic, but rather to the influence of an unfortunate administrative organization inherited from the *ancien régime*.

A second and closely allied consequence of this method of organization is seen in its effects on the political training and activity of the people. It is certainly safe to say that no people, however gifted with political genius, can, at a moment's notice, take up the reins of government with safety if they have for centuries been deprived of all opportunity to take part in the government. Similarly we may assume that, other things being equal, that nation will govern itself best which has had the most experience and practice in so doing. But it is evident that as an administrative organization is centralized the activity of the local bodies must be proportionally diminished. Now since the field of local administration is the training-school par excellence of the citizen, it results that a centralized organization, if it does not prevent, at least provides no adequate opportunity for the political education of the people. The consequences of this lack of political training must be unfavorable to good government in any modern country, but they are intensely aggravated in cases where, as in France, state action has pervaded nearly all spheres of human activity. In such countries, since the government is called on to perform so much, it should be all the more subject to the guidance of an enlightened and experienced popular control. In other words the evils of paternalism in France have been greatly multiplied by the existence of such a centralized administrative organization. Since the administrative affairs of the nation are not controlled by an active participation of the people, a complex administrative machine has arisen which seeks to direct public affairs, great and small, from a single centre, but which is itself above and beyond the immediate control of the people.

A third evil of the French system, and one to which considerable attention has already been directed in France, is seen in the intellectual, industrial and commercial concentration produced. This is one of the most important and most evident of all the ill effects traceable to governmental concentration. The knowledge of this fact has done much to mould public opinion in the departments toward a policy of decentralization.

The consequences of centralization thus far outlined have been largely of a general political and social nature. Other disadvantages there are which affect more directly the capability and practical efficiency of the administration itself. It is admitted by prominent French government officials and members of the Chamber that a centralized organization works, under ordinary circumstances, with much less rapidity than one in which comparative freedom is allowed to the local bodies. The transmission to the central authorities of matters which could easily be dispatched in the localities, the necessity of a decision by the heavily burdened central organs and the transmission of this decision again to the locality in which the matter originated, the endless approval or disapproval of local acts by the prefect or even in some instances by the president at Paris, and the immense number of affairs which are acted on in a purely formal and perfunctory way, are all features of this method of organization. A certain degree of cumbersome and tedious awkwardness is therefore attached to all functions of local government in France.

There remain two other important defects charged to the existing system in France which must be passed over with mere mention, viz., extravagance and peculiar liability to corruption. Expenses are increased, it is declared, by the additional officials necessary to the maintenance of that control and supervision over the local bodies which forms an essential feature of this system. A considerably larger number of recorders, accountants and clerks is made

necessary by the additional bookkeeping, and, it is claimed, strict economy is not exercised in the central offices to the same degree as in the local bodies, where each item of expenditure is more distinctly felt.

If then such have confessedly been the results of governmental centralization, it will be asked, can it be true that a whole nation has been so deceived or so unmindful of its welfare as to make no effort to change these conditions? The contrary is true. France has been struggling for almost a century to shake off the remnants of the old system and to develop a new organization. At the present moment a commission composed of men familiar with all the various branches of the administrative service is engaged on a plan of reorganization. Before entering on the consideration of this final stage of the development it will be necessary to outline briefly the more important attempts to secure a decentralized system since the Revolution.

The law of 28 *Pluviôse*, year VIII., retained the Revolutionary division of the country into departments rather than provinces. Proceeding upon the principle that "action is the function of one person, deliberation, that of many," the law of that year established, or rather confirmed certain important features which had been introduced largely by preceding laws, and which have remained to the present day. At the head of the department, the *arrondissement* and the municipality or commune was placed a direct agent of the central government, the *préfet*, the *sous-préfet* and the *maire*, respectively, each appointed by the central authorities. The local agents were charged with the active administrative functions of their respective districts, whereas the deliberative powers were entrusted to collective bodies, boards or councils.\*

Naturally the councils, or boards, came to be considered as representing local interests, while the *maire*, *sous-préfet*,

\*The *conseil général* in the department, the *conseil d'arrondissement* in the *arrondissement* and the *conseil municipal* in the commune.

and *préfet*, respectively, occupied a double position, first, as the active executive heads of their administrations, and therefore as agents of the respective councils, for the transaction of purely local matters, and, second, as direct agents of the central government. The keynote of this entire system is unity. Every feature of the tremendous work of symmetrical beauty was in a measure justified by the events which preceded or accompanied it. The presence of an agent of the central government at the head of each administrative division and subdivision, as well as the concentration in his hands of all active executive power, was a direct consequence of the difficulties experienced during the civil war of *la Vendée* and of the confusion and anarchy into which local affairs had been brought by the independence of the councils and boards. Again the anxiety to avoid sectional discords led, as before mentioned, to a complete break with the past in the substitution of departmental for the old and familiar provincial divisions of the country, so that even the names of the ancient provinces were avoided. The choice of the members of local councils was not at first made by popular election, but was placed in the appointment of the central government in order to secure the absolute dependence of these local bodies upon the central authorities. That a people which, but ten years before, had gone to so much trouble to enumerate in detail the abstract rights of man, should now declare itself incompetent to elect even the councillors of the village commune is to be accounted for on the ground that the ideal now sought was not liberty but authority.

With the restoration of the Bourbons, little or nothing was changed. Public opinion and the pacific policy of the king led to the consideration of a scheme of internal reform and to the law of 1821, but this measure was of no great practical importance. The Revolution of 1830 brought with it a series of changes looking toward the extension of the principle of popular election and the laws of 1831, '33, '37



and '38 placed the choice of members of the local councils in the hands of the people. The legislation of the years named also extended the powers of the local councils to some slight degree, the law of 1837 relating to the communes and that of 1838 to the departments. It was also at this time that the department, which had originally been a mere administrative subdivision, began to assume a more corporate character, thus adding to the tendency toward decentralization. Under the first empire, by reason of the unusual expenditures of the central government, it was sought to shift some of the financial burdens of the latter to the departments, and to this end the administration of certain roads was transferred to departmental control. Subsequently, the departmental finances becoming more important, a regular departmental budget arose. Beside the usual and prescribed departmental taxes the right of that organization to acquire and hold property was finally recognized and, in this way, from a mere territorial division, the department became a more or less organic body, with independent resources and taxation. The Revolution of 1848 produced no important administrative changes beyond an extension of the popular suffrage in local elections. In 1852 began a series of transformations which marked definitely the accession of a new emperor. Article 57 of the new constitution replaced the appointment of the *maires* of communes in the hands of the Chief Executive of the Republic, and this provision was confirmed by section 7 of the law of July 7, 1852, and section 2 of the law of May 5, 1855. Further, the laws named extended the appointing power of the executive to include the chairmen, vice-chairmen and secretaries of the departmental councils. The corresponding officers in the council of the *arrondissement* were appointed by the prefect, who was, as we have seen, merely an instrument or agent of the central government. The executive was also given the power to dissolve these local councils under certain circumstances. This legislation



was, in short, essentially centralizing in its tendency. It possessed much the same significance as the law of the Year VIII., in that both marked the substitution of a dictatorship for political anarchy.

With these reactionary laws of the second empire the tendency toward decentralization was, for the moment, checked. The entire period from the restoration of the Bourbons to the middle of the reign of Napoleon III., had in fact witnessed but little progress in this regard. The grounds for this conservatism are not difficult to discover. Administrative centralization, as we have seen, meant the subjection of the entire country to a central point, the concentration and consolidation of power in the hands of a few officials at the capital. Therefore just as in America during this same period, each successive strict-constructionist party on securing the reins of power was *ipso facto* converted to a platform of liberal construction, so in France each faction, once in control, saw itself forced to use and preserve its power by all possible means. Therefore each successive faction when in power refused to destroy that peculiar administrative organization which offered to the dominant party an effective means of retaining power. For this reason no important measure of decentralization found a place in the legislation of France until toward the close of the Second Empire. Each faction feared to loosen its hold upon the administrative machinery of the country lest it should thereby lose its political ascendancy. The first administrative change under Louis Napoleon was made, we have seen, in the direction of centralization. But as the glittering pageantry of the Second Empire began to lose its novelty for the Parisians, and as the constantly increasing financial burdens gave added strength to the opposition party, it became evident that some means of allaying the growing discontent must be found. The foreign wars waged during this reign were also largely brought on by the causes named, but these wars were not sufficient to distract public

attention from the internal condition of the country. Finally, in 1863, several men, prominent in various walks of life, who were met together in Nancy for informal discussion of social and political matters, became interested in the various aspects of the question of administrative decentralization. They published the result of their discussions in a pamphlet which has since then been known as the "*Manifeste de Nancy*."

The essential points of reform proposed by this manifesto were:

1. Strengthen the commune,
2. Revive the canton,\*
3. Abolish the arrondissement,
4. Emancipate the department from the strict central control to which it had been subjected,
5. Abolish administrative courts and transfer their jurisdiction to the ordinary courts.

These simple demands, comprehensible to all and based on sound reasoning, obtained such a wide circulation throughout the country that they threatened to become the platform of a strong political party. The "*Manifeste de Nancy*" provoked a deluge of pamphlets on the subject, the liberal tendencies of the moment identified themselves with the new movement, and in 1869 there followed a Congress at Lyons and another manifesto. The government saw itself forced to make some definite concessions to the new current of public opinion, and in February, 1870, a commission of decentralization composed of forty-seven members was appointed. This commission was charged with a study of the entire question and the elaboration of a scheme of reorganization. At the outbreak of the war with Prussia four important bills on the organization of the departmental councils, of the cantonal councils, the communal organization and the prefectoral councils had been prepared. The

\* The canton was an administrative subdivision larger in size than the commune. It was claimed that the canton formed a much more natural basis for an administrative unit than the arrondissement.

war interrupted this as it did all other plans for internal improvement. But it is deeply significant of the importance attached to this question that immediately after the suppression of the Commune at Paris and the meeting of the National Assembly, the subject of administrative organization was again taken up and, in the law of August, 1871, the first of what was intended as a series of measures looking toward decentralization was passed. This law, the main provisions of which are still in force, introduced some new features in the departmental organization. The powers of the departmental councils were extended, their independence slightly increased, the prefectural council was given the functions of an administrative court, and a departmental commission composed of non-professional members elected in the department, was established in order to secure a local control over the administrative acts of the prefect. This was a modification of one of the suggestions embodied in the Manifesto of Nancy. Without attempting to examine in detail the provisions of this law it may nevertheless be said that they fell far short of securing any important or substantial decentralization of administrative power. All action on administrative and financial matters of even moderate importance required the approval of the central authorities. The prefect, despite the influence of the departmental commission, still continued to exercise a predominant influence in departmental administration and was still the mere instrument of the central government. No further change of importance was made until thirteen years later, when the law of April 5, 1884, was passed.

As the law of 1871 related to the department, so that of 1884 attempted to reorganize the commune. The list of affairs in which the communal council possessed comparative independence was slightly enlarged and a better co-ordination of the powers of the mayor and the communal council was effected. Nevertheless, the more important points of central control, especially in financial matters and the *tutelle*

*administrative* or guardianship of the commune exercised by the prefect and sub-prefect were not essentially changed. In short the law of 1884, while greatly improving the position of the commune in respect of its internal organization, by no means abolished the obnoxious elements of habitual interference on the part of the prefect. It is further characteristic of the laws of 1871 and 1884 that they typify in a most interesting way the European methods of legislation on administrative subjects in that they tend to codify as completely as practicable the law of departmental and communal administration and to provide a uniform basis for all local bodies of a certain kind throughout the entire land. The last of the laws on this subject was that of March 27, 1890, which provided for the formation of special associations or unions of communes for various purposes. Among the objects for which such *syndicats de communes* may be formed are the establishment of a common system of public charities, a hospital, a school, local roads, a museum, library, etc. This provision is evidently the result of somewhat similar conditions to those which in England produced the union of parishes for the support of a workhouse.

In leaving this part of the subject we should note that the organization of the commune, or of the administrative unit which shall supplant the commune, is the crucial point in the entire question of decentralization. The French commune of to-day is too small, it is not capable of an independent organization and existence. It therefore appears that, if France is to secure a decentralized organization, there must first be formed some larger administrative unit which will also be distinctly local in character.\* For this reason it has been proposed to revive the canton, which includes several communes, but which at the present time is only used as an electoral and military recruiting district and as the territory

\* This is shown to be the case in the brochure "*La Décentralisation*" by M. Deschanel, Paris, 1895. The author states that of 36,000 French communes 27,400 have not more than 1,000 inhabitants and 17,000 have not more than 500 inhabitants each.

of the justice of the peace. It seems highly probable therefore that either the canton or the union of communes will play a highly important part in the solution of the question of decentralization.

Since 1890 there has been a growing movement of public opinion in favor of decentralization which bids fair to bring about more important measures of this nature than any that have gone before. In December, 1894, the Prime Minister, M. Dupuy, in a speech before the chamber gave a definite promise that the question of administrative decentralization should be thoroughly investigated and brought to a final solution. In the early part of the year 1895, a National League of Decentralization was formed at Paris with the avowed object of bringing the matter before the public. After the fall of the Dupuy ministry and the advent of M. Ribot the subject was again taken up and the decree of February 11, 1895, was the result. The decree mentioned provides for the appointment of a commission composed of prominent men in the various professions for the purpose of studying the means best suited to secure further decentralization as well as a simplification of the administrative service. The prime minister is a member *ex-officio* and directs the meetings of the commission; while the other members are senators, deputies, high administrative officials from the central offices, prefects, mayors, members of the academy, etc., numbering in all about seventy. The deliberations of the commission have, it is true, merely an advisory character, yet the conclusions reached are of the greatest significance and interest to the entire world of constitutionally governed nations.

The appointment of this commission not only shows that France has clearly recognized the disadvantages of a poorly balanced system of local government, but it also marks a definite recognition of the predominant importance of administrative organization at the present day. The attention of all the more progressive peoples in the last



twenty-five years has been turned from constitutional theories to questions of administration. It is being admitted on all sides that mere questions of form are of comparatively limited importance, and that the most sublimely worded constitution, if not animated and invigorated by an active and efficient administration, is but sounding brass. The French commission suffers, it is true, from its dependence on the will of the prime minister. Without his consent the commission may not convene, and its operations are thus likely to be suspended at any time by the political exigencies of the dominant party. In spite of this weakness in its organization, however, the commission has already extended its studies over a wide field of both foreign and French administrative questions in connection with the main topic. It has also made valuable suggestions which have in important instances been embodied in executive decrees and ordinances. But most important of all from the standpoint of administrative science, the appointment of such a body has resulted in interesting a number of thoughtful and intelligent men in this question and thus enabled the whole matter to be placed before the public in a clear and unmistakable light. This, too, is the cause of the sudden revival of pamphlet literature on the subject, in which various public men, members of the commission and others, have expressed their views.

The recommendations of the commission are especially worthy of note. The financial relations of the communes and departments have been given particular attention and a diminution of central control and interference recommended. A similar transfer of power from the central to the local offices in the collection of indirect taxes has been recommended and already acted upon by the executive authority. An extension of the powers of the prefect in order to unburden the central ministries has also been suggested, and, similarly in pursuance of recommendations made by the commission the management of post and telegraph stations



has been decentralized in important particulars. A noticeable characteristic of the work of the commission, and one which seems to mark the beginning of a new era in French political development, is the almost entire absence of abstract theorizing and declamatory rhetoric in the reports of the commission and the eminently practical character of the suggestions made. The secretary of the commission has declared it to be the object of that body to undertake no great schemes of complete reorganization which would necessitate sweeping changes throughout the entire service and which would therefore have scant opportunity of adoption by the chambers. The avowed object of the commission is rather to examine the national administration, ministry by ministry, bureau by bureau, one branch at a time, suggesting at each point such changes as are shown by experience to be warranted. It is largely by reason of the steadfast pursuance of this policy as well as the character of the men composing the commission that the results obtained have already proved to be of such great value and importance, bidding fair to exercise a profound influence on the political future of the French.

Such have been the consequences of the popular movement which began in the later years of the Second Empire and which seems likely to grow still stronger until the local organization of France is freed from its present dependence and weakness. If the entire trend of this development were to be summed up in a few words, it might be said that the question of administrative centralization is largely coincident with French history. The minute division of the empire subsequent to Charlemagne's death had destroyed the imperial power. This tendency to disintegration was first seriously combated by Philippe Auguste and his successors, and the long conflict which then ensued gradually turned in favor of the king. The various stages of this victory were not the causes but rather the results of corresponding steps in the centralization of the administrative

organization. The royal power was extended by reducing the local administrative bodies to mere agents of the royal will. National unity was the consequence of the absolute monarchy, but absolutism was only established and maintained by means of centralization. National unity once securely established, however, the necessity for a highly concentrated administrative organization had ceased, while the transformation from a monarchical to a republican form of government made it imperative that the people should enjoy the opportunity for more frequent and continuous political training and activity. A carefully devised system of local self-government was, then, a necessity. But this was neglected, and as a consequence the existing local bodies are now found to be on the one hand too small in size to perform properly the important functions which in other countries are assigned to them while, on the other, they are superintended to death by the constant surveillance and interference of agents of the central government. The French people are thus left without interesting or adequate opportunities of political education. The main question whose solution is now being attempted in France is therefore an exceedingly simple one, but none the less difficult. It consists first, in preserving that moderate central control which has been found so necessary even in England, and second, in restoring the local organization to that position of strength and vigor which is so necessary to the political health of a great republic.

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## THE RELATION OF POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS TO COMMERCIAL BANKS.

The postal savings scheme appeals to the interest of both the philanthropist and the scientific economist. It promises a higher plane of morality and respectability, a widespread self-mastery and self-restraint, a subordination of bestial and sensual desires and a corresponding development of æsthetic cravings. The scheme also suggests most interesting speculations as to its probable effects upon the distribution of wealth, the extent to which it will increase the capacity of the wage-earning class to compel advances in the wage scale or to resist reductions in wages. It suggests interesting problems as to the possible modifications it may produce in the consumption of goods and the consequent reaction upon production. It also opens up a very suggestive field of inquiry as to its probable or possible effects upon commercial banking institutions.

The subject of savings, has generally been treated by philanthropists, and where it has been dealt with by men who are usually judicially minded, the scientific temper has been abandoned. The fascinations of a postal savings scheme are so irresistible that those who have essayed to treat the subject seem invariably to have been betrayed into using the arts of the propagandist. This is particularly noticeable in the efforts to allay hostility on the part of the banking fraternity. We are told time and again that it appeals to a constituency which it is not profitable for the banks to cultivate. A recent article suggests, in connection with the extension of the cheque system in Austria, that it promises to relieve the banks of the "small accounts," as if the banks would be benefited. Even Dr. Shaw has given currency

to the idea that in the investment of the funds of the savings banks it has been found expedient to limit them to public securities. In speaking of the municipal system of Germany, he says: "Their funds are invested, as a rule, in imperial, national, or municipal interest-bearing securities."\* The statement is far from the fact. In Saxony the savings banks have gone farther toward reaching the people than in any of the greater states of the empire. The report for 1893 shows that 339,839,299 marks of savings deposits were invested in real estate mortgage securities against only 10,557,341 marks in the class of securities referred to by Dr. Shaw. Of the rest of the funds, 5,850,614 marks were lent on chattels, and 2,552,376 marks on notes with personal endorsements.† In Prussia also real estate mortgages are the most popular class of securities. In 1893 there were 2,215,111,717 marks invested in real estate security against only 1,138,028,196 in public securities. The mortgages were nearly evenly divided between city and country property. Of the rest of the savings funds in Prussia 147,278,935 marks were invested in ordinary commercial paper.‡

This haste after unexceptionable arguments in favor of a proposed system depending upon the favor of legislation may be questionable politics. It certainly militates against clear thinking on the subject.

The enthusiasm which pervades the directories of postal savings systems evidences the whole-hearted service which the growing system has secured and furnishes one explanation of its remarkable success. Here we are not surprised to find the critical spirit absent. In my own interviews with officials in the state systems I have invariably been assured that there was absolutely no conflict of interest between the state savings bank and the ordinary commercial banks. A

\* "Municipal Government in Europe." p. 372.

† *Zeitschrift des Königlich Sächsischen Statistischen Bureaus*, for 1895. p. 40.

‡ *Zeitschrift des Königlich Preussischen Statistischen Bureaus*, for 1895. p. 119.

fair sample of such opinions is that of the Director-General of the French Posts and Telegraph:

"As regards the private banks," he wrote to Mr. Wanamaker, "they have nothing to fear from the postal savings bank, which receives deposits from one franc upwards, and even deposits less than one franc, which the depositor pastes on a card and which are accepted when their value has reached one franc. The operation of postal savings banks relates principally to small accounts; and experience has shown that the postal savings bank does not in the least interfere with the development of the private banks which receive larger deposits. The vast majority of the depositors in the postal savings bank consists of minors, laborers, clerks, etc., whilst the private banks have their depositors among persons of greater means."

This is certainly the view which the enthusiastic advocate prefers to entertain, and if it could be imparted to our bankers a very formidable opposition would be allayed. It is a view, however, which has not been supported by evidence, so far as commercial banks are concerned, and I doubt if it can stand as a sound prophecy as to developments in the future.

The position is probably based upon the theory of the savings banks as a preparatory school for the commercial bank; the depositor after passing a certain stage of development finding it to his advantage to become a patron of the commercial bank. This theory assumes an incapacity on the part of the savings bank to respond to the demands of the small capitalist.

Such an inherent incapacity seems to be negated by the statutory limitations which have been placed upon the functions of the savings banks in all the history of their development. In Wurtemberg only certain classes of persons are permitted to become patrons of the savings banks. Nearly all savings banks are limited in the amount of single deposits and in the size of accounts allowed to a single depositor. This is evidently designed for the protection of the commercial banks. At least it is in effect hostile to the encouragement of savings. Much more consistent is the



policy of the postal bank of Belgium which fixes no maximum for deposit accounts but discriminates in favor of the small depositor by gradations in the rate of interest, the rate on sums not exceeding 5000 francs being three per cent, and the rate being two per cent for everything in excess of that amount. The purpose might be still further served by fixing an amount beyond which no interest would be paid at all. Thus the patronage of the large depositor would only increase the attractiveness of the system to the small depositor by adding the earnings of a part of his deposit to the interest fund for the small deposits.

The large increase of patronage which follows upon every new opportunity offered to the larger depositor seems to indicate that the institution may appeal to a larger constituency than the French Director and Mr. Wanamaker are willing to admit. In England prior to 1893 one person could not deposit within a year a greater amount than thirty pounds sterling, an individual account could never exceed two hundred pounds sterling, purchases of government stock for one person could not exceed one hundred pounds within a year, and the total purchases of stock for one person by the postal authorities could not exceed three hundred pounds. An increase of these maxima was one of the achievements of the late Rosebery government. The law of December 21, 1893, raised the maxima as follows: of the amount which might be deposited within a year to fifty pounds; of the amount which might be invested in government stock within a year to two hundred pounds; and of the total amount of such purchases to five hundred pounds. These larger opportunities were greeted by an enormous increase of patronage. In the year following there was an increase in the number of deposit accounts of 524,000—nearly double the increase of the year preceding. The grand total of deposits was increased by more than eight and a half million pounds. The amount of the average deposit was increased by five shillings. The



average account was increased from fourteen pounds to fourteen pounds and twelve shillings.

Neither does experience show that the aim is always realized in the matter of the coveted patronage. After the first four years of the operation of the Austrian postal savings bank the patronage ranked in numerical order as follows: first, the student and scholar class; second, the propertied class, as merchants, manufacturers, land-owners, etc.; third, the wage-earning class.

A strong safeguard against the saving bank's impinging upon the sphere of the commercial banks is found in the obstructions to free withdrawals—the requirement of notice of withdrawals beyond certain amounts. Such restrictions are, under existing devices, made necessary by the policy of a low reserve. This policy is essential to a high interest rate and its abandonment would be a decided departure from the character of a savings institution, unless some new device could be introduced for the protection of the interest rate. If the saving-bank ever seriously contests the territory now occupied by commercial banks the deposits must be kept subject to immediate call.

Austria has departed from traditional methods so far as to add what may properly be called a commercial department to her postal savings system. Without abandoning her strictly savings bank with its usual restrictions, she has added a department in which freedom enough is allowed to meet the needs of the average business man, in that, although at the cost of a lower rate of interest, withdrawals may be made by cheque. At the close of 1895 there were 1,110,000 deposit accounts in the regular savings department against 28,000 in the cheque department. But in volume of business the advantage is very much with the cheque department. The report for 1895 shows a turnover of 2,970,000,000 florins and 13,740,000 transactions in the cheque department against a turnover of 68,000,000 florins and 2,595,000 transactions in the savings department. The total accounts at the close

of the year stood for the cheque department 54,541,000 florins with a reserve of 2,779,000 against 44,248,000 florins in the regular savings department, and 17,045,000 florins to the credit of its depositors.

The cheque department also shows every sign of growth. The annual number of transactions increased from 269,000 in 1887 to more than ten and a half million in 1893 and to nearly fourteen million in 1895. The number of accounts also shows a steady increase. Of the twenty-five thousand in 1893 seven thousand were in Vienna, and the next largest number were in Prague—which ranks second in commercial importance. This certainly shows a tendency to encroach upon the territory of the commercial banks.

It may properly be objected to this showing that the cheque department is not strictly a savings institution—that it only reaches out after the commercial business by sacrificing a part of the motive to saving. But what could be said of its commercial possibilities if the whole savings institution could be supplied with the same commercial facilities, could offer the same freedom of withdrawal to depositors, could fully incorporate the chequing principle without sacrificing the earning power of the deposits? This could not be accomplished by any private system or any municipal system of savings. These systems must protect themselves against runs, either by restrictions upon the right of withdrawal or by a sufficient reserve. In the latter case the interest inducement is partly sacrificed. The sovereign state, however, is armed with functions by which it may easily accomplish it. More than that, the state, it seems to me, could abandon the reserve fund entirely and keep all the money bearing interest. This was provided for in the bill introduced into the senate by Senator Allen, of Nebraska, which would permit the net deposits for each day to be invested in interest-bearing securities, by permitting the postmaster to pay withdrawals, where necessary, in postal notes. This bill provided for the cancellation of such notes when received at the treasury.

The objection to the Allen plan, that it would interfere with the volume of the circulating medium, might be met by substituting for his scheme for cancellation a provision endowing the postal notes with the same money functions that our greenbacks possess, and requiring such emergency issue for each day to be reported to the central authority, and by requiring such authority to set aside, or direct to be set aside, an equivalent amount of greenbacks and postal notes out of the day's deposits for cancellation. The introduction of such an innovation would permit the most complete union of the savings and the cheque departments without any sacrifice of the former. It would be directly in furtherance of the savings principle. The earning power of the savings on which interest would be allowed would be increased both by avoiding the necessity for any reserve—the entire deposits being invested in securities—and by the larger amounts which the chequing privileges would attract. The unrestricted freedom of withdrawal which it would allow would be not only attractive to the business community but would render the institution much more attractive to the wage-earning class as well. All classes would feel much more inclined to leave their money where they could feel perfectly sure that they might have it back at any time their convenience or an emergency might require.

If such a plan should prove practical, the question, in the light of the Austrian experience, would be, not whether the savings bank would share in the business now enjoyed by the commercial banks, but how much of this business it would take. Such a scheme in action might create far-reaching and radical institutional and economic changes. It suggests most interesting modifications of existing banking customs.

The two great considerations which would make for its success in competition with the established system would be the greater security of deposits and the interest-bearing quality. The security of government behind deposits is a

consideration which would not be despised by any class of depositors. The interest inducement indeed is a consideration which would appeal strongly to nine-tenths of bank depositors, particularly to the patrons of country banks.

Perhaps the greatest consideration which would militate against its success would be the absence of the personal element. In transferring accounts from the commercial to the savings bank the gain in safety and interest would be at the sacrifice of personal favors, of that credit which attaches to the good name of the reputable business man. The private bank has an index to business character and commercial regularity in the book account of its customer. Hence cheques are often honored when there is no money on deposit, and loans are often made on the strength of an upright business character. The human element will be entirely eliminated from the savings bank. The chequing power will always find its limitations in the amount on deposit. A good name will count for naught in the placing of funds, and loans on good personal security will necessarily form no considerable part of the scheme of a state savings institution. The director will never look at the applicant for a loan; he will look solely to the security which he offers, and the security must be of a substantial kind.

In proportion to its success our present banking energies would take on the character of a money brokerage business. Capitalists who deal in money, being deprived of the use of money left with them on deposit, would deal in commercial paper out of their private funds. Such a transition would create the most radical modification in our system of exchange, in a tremendous shrinkage in credit transactions. The money brokers would naturally gravitate to the larger centres, and their business would be limited to the larger classes of interests. Thus the use of credit would be largely withdrawn from the residents of the smaller centres, and from the smaller commercial interests generally. The advantages of the elasticity of credit transactions would

thus be lost, and commercial interests would be more at the mercy of the monetary policy of the central government, more exposed to the disasters incidental to an unwise policy.

On the other hand the transition might result in an advantage to commercial health in more conservative methods of carrying on private businesses. The country merchant being obliged to deal with the jobber in cash would be obliged to resort to a greater extent to cash transactions in dealing with his own customers, thus would the profit and loss column tend to disappear from the ledger, and with a more definite budget, commercial intelligence as well as commercial integrity would grow apace. There might be found another advantage in exemptions from general or local commercial disasters, starting with the failures of commercial banks.

As to its probable effect in the United States, such a postal savings system as I have here indicated might lend itself more readily to commercial uses than in Austria. Our methods of business have been more daring, risks are more readily assumed, and disasters more frequently follow, carrying with them in their train banking institutions and their patrons. It is a question whether so many object lessons have not prepared our sober business men to make safety of accounts an object worthy even of considerable sacrifice of convenience.

Finally I conclude that there is no ground for the assumption that savings banks naturally appeal to a different constituency from that of commercial banks. I conclude that both facts of experience and a common-sense view of the situation support a contrary theory. I submit that the more the savings bank is equipped to secure the greatest results in promoting saving the more it will be calculated to invade the territory now occupied by commercial banks. The extent of this invasion can only be a subject for conjecture.



Without recognizing this conflict of interests even the political aspects of the question cannot be intelligently considered. It is scarcely possible that the economic possibilities here suggested will not play a considerable part in the legislation on the subject when the point is reached. The advantage of the highest type of a savings bank and the possible advantages to commercial habits will be placed in one side of the balance, and in the other will be placed the commercial disadvantages and the political influence of banking interests. It is pretty certain that the state savings bank in some form will be introduced into the United States before very long. The interesting question is whether it will prove an uncompromising triumph of the savings principle, or how far it will be curbed with a view to excluding it from the territory now occupied by the commercial banks. There is much to be said pro and con as to either policy. Whatever policy may possess the greatest merit the best results are likely to be secured by placing the issues in their true light before the public.

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## THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF SHIP CANALS.

Much has been written concerning the ship canals of the world as great works of engineering; much, too, on their political and military importance; but of the part they have played in the great economic changes, the result of the marvelous development of transport industries during this last half century, it is not so easy to find definite or satisfactory accounts. At the same time vague and indefinite statements frequently made indicate that their economic importance has been significant; and, in fact, it is only as they are influential in this way that they become commercially profitable undertakings. The attempt is made in this paper to trace with some degree of precision these economic effects, showing how, in consequence of the canals, important changes have been made in business machinery, in business methods, in producing and marketing commodities, and in general economic development.

The ship canals do not form a connected part of the world's transportation system, and in consequence the economic results of each are, in the main, independent of all other canals. Furthermore, the economic importance of the different canals presents the widest variations. Each opens the way for the creation of many and extensive carrying routes; but, while the influence of some has been merely local, the consequences of others have been felt throughout the commercial and industrial world. These conditions suggest the natural method of treatment to be a consideration of each canal separately, tracing so far as possible the economic effects that have resulted from its existence.

The Amsterdam and Manchester canals, each constructed to serve the needs of a single port, do not present the possibilities of any large and general economic results. The Welland, Corinth and Kiel canals have a larger field of

possibilities ; but their actual consequences have as yet been small. The results of these less important canals are therefore but briefly considered in this paper. The examination of the vastly more important and significant results of the Suez and St. Mary's Falls canals will comprise the larger part of this study.

In a country as well supplied with smaller canals as Holland is, it was natural that the idea of a ship canal should present itself to Amsterdam, when the shallowness of the Zuyder Zee and other difficulties of approach were causing her to lose trade to her rival, Rotterdam. The idea soon took practical form, and in 1826 the Helder Canal, with an eighteen-foot channel, offered an easier approach to the Dutch port. With the development of the shipping industry, the dimensions of this canal became inadequate after a few decades, while its length (fifty miles) and the difficult entrance in the passes of the Texel proved additional disadvantages. To maintain the commercial position of Amsterdam the construction of a new and larger canal, built by the shortest line to the sea, was decided on ; and in 1876 the North Sea Canal, fifteen and one-half miles in length, and twenty-three feet in depth, was opened for use.

The effect of the new canal on the commerce of Amsterdam was instantaneous. For twenty years the tonnage statistics for shipping at that port had shown an almost complete stagnation, while at Rotterdam the shipping had trebled. In six years after the new canal was opened the tonnage entering and clearing at Amsterdam had more than doubled,—rising from 802,000 tons in 1876 to 1,734,000 tons in 1882. In the former year the Amsterdam shipping was but little over one quarter that at Rotterdam; in the latter year it was almost a half. Since 1882, however, the increase has been at a much slower rate, while the continued rapid upward movement of the Rotterdam figures show that there is no falling off in the general trade.\* Evidently the

\* See Table II.

larger and deeper draught vessels now constructed find the twenty-three-foot channel too shallow, and an enlargement of the canal will be necessary to enable Amsterdam to retain even her existing position.

The Manchester Ship Canal resembles the Amsterdam Canal in connecting a large city with the open sea, and in being constructed with a view to its effects on the city at its inland terminus. There is the difference, however, that the promoters of the English canal aim not simply at retaining and developing an already existing trade, but at creating a new port. The expectation of the promoters and of the corporation of Manchester which has bonded itself heavily to secure the completion of the canal, is that the raw materials for Manchester manufactures will be brought via the canal, this route saving the heavy expenses connected with the transfer to the railroad at Liverpool. It is perhaps too early to say whether these expectations will be realized; although the estimate of a traffic of 3,000,000 tons within two years of opening has not been fulfilled, a large trade has been developed. The canal was opened on January 1, 1894, and during the first year 1280 sea-going vessels and 1660 boats for coast traffic came up to Manchester. For the nine months ending September, 1896, the traffic was 1,300,000 tons, an increase of 350,000 tons over the corresponding period of the year before. This development within three years of a trade approaching that of Amsterdam in volume, is not without significance, and with a continued increase, Manchester in a few years will become an important shipping port.\*

Like the Manchester Canal, the Corinth and Kiel canals have not produced immediate effects equal to the anticipations of their promoters. The Corinth Canal was opened in October, 1893, and the total traffic at the end of December,

\*From the investor's point of view, the results of the Manchester Canal are more discouraging because of the heavy expense of construction, it being almost equal to the cost of the Suez Canal.

1895 (twenty-six months), had been but 4589 ships with a tonnage of 596,000 tons. The first year's operation of the Kiel Canal between the Baltic and North Seas showed a record of 7500 steamers and 9300 sailing vessels; but these were mostly small vessels, and the receipts from tolls were under 900,000 marks, against an estimate of 5,000,000 marks.

It is evident, however, that these canals have been in operation too short a time for a full development of their possibilities. The future may demonstrate that these routes offer a net advantage to shipping on account of the saving in distances and the greater safety from shipwreck; and a considerable traffic may develop with important economic results. The Welland Canal does not seem at first sight to offer this hopeful outlook. The present fourteen-foot channel has been in use since 1887, yet the traffic does not exceed 1,000,000 tons a year. But a deepening of the channel and the enlargement of the locks, so as to reduce the number, might result in a considerable increase in the traffic.

There may be latent possibilities in the traffic of each of these canals we have been considering; but thus far the great bulk of the trade they were intended to get, remains undiverted from old routes, little new trade has been developed, and no important economic results have appeared. This however is not the case with the Suez and Saint Mary's canals.

#### THE SUEZ CANAL.

In December, 1858, a company was formed to undertake M. de Lesseps' audacious scheme of connecting the Mediterranean and Red Seas; in the following spring, work was commenced, and in 1869 the Suez Canal opened a new water route to the East.

It takes but a glance at the statistics of traffic to notice the enormous difference between the trade that has developed through the Suez Canal, and that of the canals



already considered. Beginning in 1870, with 486 vessels, having a tonnage of 436,000 tons, there was a steady increase until 1875, when it had reached nearly fifteen hundred ships and over 2,000,000 tons. After a few years of quiescence came a second period of rapid increase, from 1880 to 1883, in the latter year the figures of 3300 ships and 5,800,000 tons being reached. Since then there has been a slowly increasing tonnage, reaching the maximum figure of 8,700,000 tons in 1891, but falling off somewhat since that year. In 1896 the figures were 3409 ships with a tonnage of 8,594,307.

The importance of these figures may be made clearer by recalling the fact that the foreign tonnage entering at the port of New York has rarely exceeded 7,500,000 tons in any year, and that the foreign tonnage for all the ports of the United States, both entering and clearing, is about 35,000,000 tons. That is, the traffic through the Suez Canal, measured by volume, is almost a quarter of the total foreign trade of the United States. But if measured by value, the importance of the canal traffic is seen to be much greater. The imports and exports of India, via the Suez Canal, are equal in value to \$360,000,000, which is nearly one-quarter of the value of the foreign trade of the United States. As the Indian trade constitutes rather less than one-half the total traffic of the Suez Canal, the value of the whole of that traffic must be not far from a half of the foreign trade of the United States.

The development of a trade of such an extent and value by a new route within the space of twenty-five years could not but have an important and far-reaching influence on the economic interests of the world. Perhaps the most striking results of the opening of the canal route to the East were those on the machinery of trade—meaning by this term both the material appliances and the business organization of trade. One effect might have been in part anticipated. The new route saved nearly three thousand marine leagues

on the voyage from the ports of western Europe to the East, or almost half the distance to Bombay. The obvious result of the use of the new route would be that half of the vessels engaged in the Eastern trade would be out of employment. In fact, however, the change came more indirectly. Sailing vessels did not find it advantageous to use the canal, and continued on the old route around the Cape of Good Hope. But the canal, by making practicable the use of steamships in the oriental trade, brought about an even greater revolution in the character of the shipping business to the East. By the Cape route coaling places were few, and the facilities for coaling expensive; the consequence was that the enormous expense of coaling at these out-of-the-way places, with the loss of freight room from the extra space needed for coal, made the use of steamers unprofitable. But by the canal route a steamer could coal at Gibraltar, Malta, Port Said and Aden, where coal could be furnished at moderate rates; while the space saved from coal could be used to carry a larger cargo. Accordingly, a large number of new iron screw steamers were soon constructed for the trade with the East, and replaced a large percentage of the sailing vessels. It has been estimated that 2,000,000 tons of vessels were thus thrown out of employment, and the effect of this can be seen in the immediate reduction in the tonnage of sailing vessels. In 1869 the sailing tonnage in the British foreign trade was 3,600,000 tons; in 1876 it was but 3,230,000 tons.

In the construction of the new steamers for the canal trade, two lines already in existence—the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company, and the Messageries Compagnie—took prominent parts. But new companies also were rapidly organized, which built steamers and established new lines to the East, among which may be noted the British India Steam Navigation Company, the Clan Line, the Austro-Hungarian Lloyds Company, the Italian Steam Navigation Company, and the Rubbotino Company, of Genoa. It is not possible to get at the amount of ship building made

necessary by the change in the kind of ships used in the eastern trade; but some idea of the importance of the change may be seen by noting the fact that the total steam tonnage in the British foreign trade increased from 650,000 tons in 1869 to 1,500,000 tons in 1876. It would, of course, be possible to learn the number and tonnage of ships now engaged in the trade between Europe and the East, but to account for all of this by the Suez Canal would be to exaggerate its effects. Improvements in marine engines and in the construction of steamers make much longer steamer voyages possible to-day than were possible in 1870, as is shown by the lines to Australia and across the Pacific Ocean. It is, therefore, certain that if no Suez Canal had been built, there would have been by this time steamers in the Eastern trade. But the change would have come at a much later period, and sailing vessels would continue to carry a large, perhaps a dominant share of the traffic. The effect of the Suez Canal was to make the transition from sail to steam sharp and decisive, and to bring it about in the decade 1870-1880.

One change in the shipping industry that was expected from the construction of the Suez Canal has not been realized. It was predicted that the geographical advantage given to the Mediterranean ports by the new route would soon enable them to regain the position they had held in the Middle Ages as the carriers of eastern produce to the markets of Europe. In England it was felt that the canal would seriously threaten British maritime supremacy. But the results have been otherwise. It was only in England that the capital was at hand to build the large screw steamers which alone could profitably use the canal; and from the start three-fourths of the vessels using the canal have been British. Of late years there has been a slight decline in the percentage of British vessels, but this has been due not to an increase in the ships of southern European nations, but to an increase in German, Dutch and Belgian vessels.

But while the carrying trade is still in British vessels, a much larger and a growing share of the traffic is carried from the East directly to the continent, and England has declined in relative importance as a warehousing and distributing point for eastern goods. Under the old régime of sailing vessels around the Cape, when voyages from India took a good part of a year, and the time of arrival could not be calculated on within a month or two, it was necessary that large stocks of goods should be kept on hand to enable dealers to meet the varying demand for their goods. Steamers by way of the Suez Canal make the voyage in thirty days, and the time of their arrival can be regulated within a day. Shorter voyages and punctuality of arrivals make it possible for local dealers both in England and on the Continent to order directly from the East, and the change in the method of this business rendered useless to a large extent the immense warehouses at London, Liverpool and other English ports. A few statistics will show the extent to which direct trade between the East and the Continent has taken the place of trade via England. In 1870 the value of exports from India to the United Kingdom was nearly \$70,000,000, to the rest of Europe \$13,000,000; in 1893-94 the value of Indian exports to the United Kingdom was \$93,000,000, to other European countries \$85,000,000. In other words, while the total export trade of India and the total exports to Europe have doubled in value, within twenty-three years, and the exports to European countries other than Great Britain have multiplied sixfold, the exports from India to the United Kingdom have increased but 40 per cent. The proportion of Indian exports to Europe, that are landed first in the United Kingdom, declined from 83 to 53 per cent.

This change in the direction of trade has not been simply the transfer of the distributing points from England to the Mediterranean ports of southern Europe. The towns of Italy, Greece and southern France have been almost as

greatly disappointed in their expectations of becoming trade centres, as in their hopes of controlling the shipping trade to the East through the operation of the Suez Canal. To be sure there has been a heavy increase in Indian exports to Italy, Austria and Russia; and the Mediterranean ports, notably Genoa, have increased in importance. But the most striking features of the change in the direction of Indian exports lies in the increased traffic to France, Holland, Belgium, and, above all, to Germany. The statistics of Indian exports to these countries\* show that there is no longer any one country pre-eminent as a distributing point for eastern produce, but that all Europe trades directly with the East. Nevertheless, with this great change in the character of the Indian export trade, the imports of European goods to India continue, as in the days before the canal, to come almost entirely from England.

The termination of the warehouse distribution system of England was one of the forces which led to the disappearance of the class of merchant princes, who had hitherto monopolized the Eastern trade. The system of bank discounts and commercial loans, by enabling men of ability to secure capital at low rates of interest, also played a large part in driving out of trade the old houses doing business on their own capital, from which they expected large rates of interest. But as long as large stocks of goods had to be kept on hand for six months or more at a time, it was difficult for the new business man to get the credit that would enable him to supplant the old established houses in the Eastern trade. When, however, the new route by the Suez Canal by bringing steamers into use enabled a cargo to be sold and delivered within a month after the order had been sent, the advantages on the side of the man working with borrowed capital were decisive.

As a result of the opening of the Suez Canal, sailing vessels, warehouses, merchant princes, dealers in six

\* See Table IV.



months' bills found their old occupations slipping away. The old modes and channels of business were altered and new adjustments had to be made. In the meantime, the confusion and disturbances in the business world were so great that the London *Economist* has said that they constituted one great general cause for the universal, commercial and industrial depression and disturbance of 1873.

The effect of the opening of the Suez Canal and the new route to the East on the production and marketing of eastern produce is by no means so easy to trace as the effects on the machinery of trade. If all the necessary statistical material were at hand it would be an almost endless task to disentangle from the complex results of complicated causes the exact changes that have been due to the canal. It is possible, however, to see the effects produced by the canal in the case of a few leading commodities, and in other respects the general tendency of the new route can be recognized.

A few commodities will serve to show that not every article in the eastern trade has been affected by the new route and the new methods of business brought about by it. The exports of Indian cotton have remained at about the same figure since the opening of the canal, showing that for that article the sailing vessel and the Cape route provided as cheap a road as the canal route. The exports of Indian wool and of spices have increased to some extent, but with nothing to indicate that the increase is greater than would have taken place in the ordinary development of trade. The exports of tea from India show an astonishing increase, from 11,000,000 pounds in 1870 to 120,000,000 in 1893-94. But with an article of such high value the direct effects of the canal through cheaper freight rates can have had little influence here, though indirectly the increased Indian production may be due in part to the easier communication with the west that was made possible by the canal. In the earlier arrival of the new season's teas the influence of the canal in shortening the time from India to England is clearly

evident. Tea imports to England in July, 1870, were 711,000 pounds; in July, 1871, 4,000,000 pounds; in July, 1872, 23,000,000 pounds—the enormous increase being the direct result of the use of steamers via the canal in place of sailing vessels and the long Cape voyage.

Rice is a commodity the trade in which has been subject to important changes as a direct result of the use of the canal route to the East. Rice is a staple Italian cereal, and a leading article of Italian export. It had formerly been imported into European countries by the Cape route, but by the canal route Eastern rice was enabled to reach markets in southern Europe formerly inaccessible, and even to be sold in Italy itself, much to the displeasure of the Italian producers. In the six years following the opening of the Suez Canal the export of Indian rice doubled, and has continued to increase since. It constitutes the largest single item in the export trade of India.

The creation of the wheat export trade of India is due directly to the opening of the Suez Canal route to Europe. Efforts had been made to carry wheat around the Cape, but the liability to heat during the long voyage and the loss from weevil in the cargo made all such attempts unsuccessful. The possibility of carrying wheat by the new and shorter route was soon demonstrated, and a trade was established that has grown until India has become the second wheat exporting country in the world. In 1870 the wheat exports of India were 130,000 bushels; in 1876, over 4,000,000 bushels; in 1883, 35,000,000 bushels; in 1891, 50,000,000 bushels.

Since the last date there has been a considerable decline in the extent of the export owing to poor crops, but under ordinary conditions the Indian product is an important item in the wheat market of the world. It will be observed that the great increase in this Indian export trade did not begin until after the year 1876. The extension at that time came about through the reduction in freight rates made

possible by improved steamers. It is, nevertheless, true that the establishment of the wheat export trade of India and the possibility of any such trade existing at all is to be ascribed to the Suez Canal.

Of the imports into India the direct influence of the Suez Canal seems to be striking in the case of but one commodity—petroleum from the Russian oil fields at Batoum. Before the discovery of these fields the imports of oil into India were insignificant; the value of such imports in 1869 was about \$110,000, and in 1876 had risen only to \$175,000. But when the Batoum oil fields were discovered an extensive trade to India via the Suez Canal immediately developed. In 1880 the imports of oil into India were 6,500,000 gallons, valued at \$1,360,000; in 1885 this had risen to 26,300,000 gallons; in 1890 to 51,800,000 gallons, and in 1893 to 86,600,000 gallons. For a considerable period the Indian demand absorbed more than half the total product of the Russian oil wells, and to-day it takes more than a quarter of their output. As the distance from Batoum to India around Africa is as great as that from the American oil fields, it does not seem possible that any of this Russian oil would have found its way to India by the Cape route. Some trade might have arisen by the overland route to India, which, when railroad connections from the Caspian Sea to India are complete, would have become important; but the oil imports of India as they stand to-day are made possible only by the existence of the canal route.

It may be well, while dealing with particular commodities, to note that nearly a million tons of coal are annually brought to Port Said for the steamers passing through the canal. This coal makes a considerable item in the Mediterranean trade due to the Suez Canal.

If the question be asked, what is the total significance of the Suez Canal on the production and marketing of commodities, the answer can be given only in general terms. A superficial observer might base an estimate on the increase in

Indian trade with Europe from \$280,000,000 in 1870, to \$700,000,000 in 1894. If, however, it is borne in mind that this increase has been at a less proportionate rate than that from 1850 to 1870 without the canal, and if the large extensions of the foreign trade of Australia, South Africa, Argentina and the United States within the last twenty years are also remembered, it must be evident that other and more general causes than the opening of the canal have affected the development in India. On the other hand, to limit the effects of the canal to those results which can be directly traced, such as the development of the trade in rice, wheat and petroleum, is to err by understatement. The greater ease of communication by the canal route has brought much more western life into personal contact with the East, and this has had much to do with the development not only of the foreign trade of the eastern countries, but also of their internal resources. One phase of this general development in which the canal has had an indirect share may be seen in the tonnage statistics of some of the eastern countries. From 1870 to 1894 the total foreign tonnage of India rose from 4,000,000 tons to 7,660,000; of Ceylon from 1,420,000 tons to 6,360,000 tons; of the Straits Settlements from 1,650,000 tons to 10,000,000 tons; of Hong Kong from 2,640,000 tons to 10,460,000 tons. How much of this increase is to be ascribed to the canal, and how much to other causes cannot be calculated or even roughly estimated. We must remain content, in this part of our inquiry, with recognizing that the canal is one of the factors in the great economic development of southern Asia.

To recapitulate: The construction of the Suez Canal has led to the immediate and rapid development of the use of steamers in the eastern trade, has brought about the disuse of most sailing vessels in that trade, has caused the decline of the warehouse distribution system of England, and the rise of a direct trade between the East and the consuming countries of Europe. The shorter and more direct route

has also made possible the wheat export trade of India, and the trade in oil from Batoum to India, and has doubled the rice exports of the latter country. The canal has also been one of many factors in other important economic changes, among which may be mentioned the crisis of 1873 and the general development of trade and industry in the East.

#### THE SAINT MARY'S FALLS CANAL.

There had been a canal around the falls in Saint Mary's River between Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, available for vessels drawing not over ten feet of water from 1856 on; but there can hardly be said to have been a ship canal until 1881 when the United States Government completed a seventeen-foot channel between the lakes, and provided a 515-foot lock with a single lift of eighteen feet for carrying vessels from the level of one lake to that of the other. The growth of the traffic through this canal led the Dominion Government to construct a canal around the Canadian side of the falls 1895, and in 1896 the United States canal was enlarged to a twenty-foot channel, and provided with an 880-foot lock.

The volume of traffic through this canal far exceeds that through the Suez Canal. In 1881 the traffic of the old Saint Mary's Falls Canal was 1,560,000 tons, as against 4,130,000 tons through the Suez Canal; but with the enlargement of the American canal a rapid increase in traffic immediately developed. By 1889 it equaled that of the Suez Canal (about 7,000,000 tons in each); in 1895 a tonnage of 15,000,000 tons went through the Saint Mary's Falls Canal, as compared with 8,500,000 tons through the Suez Canal; and in 1896 the figures for Saint Mary's Falls Canal were 16,240,000 tons. The present traffic through the American canal exceeds the total foreign trade of the port of New York, and is equal to nearly half the total volume of the foreign trade of the United States. In value the traffic through Saint Mary's Falls Canal presents less



imposing figures, though even in this respect it is by no means insignificant. The value of the freight passing through the canal in 1896 is estimated at \$186,000,000, while the Indian traffic alone through the Suez Canal is valued at \$360,000,000. Nevertheless, a trade of \$186,000,000 a year developing within the period of sixteen years may *prima facie* be expected to have had important economic effects.

As in the case of the Suez Canal the most striking results have been on the machinery of trade, the influence of the Saint Mary's Canal on the shipping industry of the Great Lakes being especially marked. It is not too much to say that the development of the carrying trade on the Great Lakes both in the number and kind of vessels used is due almost wholly to the "Soo" Canal. From 1881 to 1895 the volume of commerce through the Detroit River increased from 17,500,000 tons to 29,000,000 tons. During the same period the volume of commerce through the Saint Mary's Falls Canal increased by 13,500,000 tons, and as the larger share of the canal traffic goes through the Detroit River to Lake Erie ports the increase in the traffic through the Detroit River is seen to have been mainly in the traffic from Lake Superior made possible by the existence of the canal and locks at Sault Ste. Marie.\* This increase in traffic has meant a corresponding increase in the number of vessels in the lake carrying trade, and probably half of the 3230 vessels on the Lakes are employed in business depending on the canal. Between 1883 and 1897 the total tonnage on the Lakes increased from 720,000 to 1,410,000 tons, the increase being more than the total increase in the American merchant marine during this time. Further, while in 1883 the lake tonnage was but a sixth of the total American merchant marine, in 1897 it was nearly two-sevenths of that total.

Not only has there been this increase in traffic and shipping due to the canal, but within the last ten years there

\* The grain trade from Lake Michigan ports east has also increased.

has been a rapid and striking change in the material and structure of the ships on the Great Lakes, which could hardly have taken place had it not been for the canal. There has not been any sudden displacement of the old vessels such as was occasioned by the Suez Canal, but the new ships built for the increased traffic, and to replace those that wear out, are not sailing vessels of wood, but large steel and iron steamships, with double bottoms, water-tight compartments, triple expansion engines and modern electrical appliances. In 1870 there were 1699 sailing vessels and but 642 steamers on the Lakes; in 1897 there were 993 sailing vessels and 1775 steamers. In 1870 the average tonnage of vessels on the Lakes was 175 tons; in 1897 it was 440 tons. In 1880 a 1000-ton vessel was a rarity; in 1895 there were five lines owning together sixty steamships of from 1750 to 3000 tons.\*

The "Soo" Canal is connected in two ways with these changes in the lake shipping. In the first place, the increase in lake traffic which has necessitated large numbers of new

\*Lake vessels are now built to carry 5000 tons on a 16-foot draught, and 7000 tons on a 20-foot draught. The place of the lake tonnage in the American merchant marine is shown by the following remarks and table taken from the "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Navigation for 1897" (p. 8):

"We are almost exclusively indebted to the growth of shipbuilding on the Great Lakes for our increase in tonnage during the past ten years, as is indicated by the following table, showing our total documented tonnage by geographical districts on June 30 of each year designated:

	1897—Tons.	1887—Tons.	1877—Tons.
Atlantic and Gulf coasts, . . . . .	2,647,796	2,847,135	2,944,865
Pacific Coast, . . . . .	439,012	334,669	251,556
Total salt water, . . . . .	3,086,808	3,181,804	3,196,421
Great Lakes system, . . . . .	1,410,103	733,069	610,160
Western rivers, . . . . .	272,109	356,355	436,018
Total fresh water, . . . . .	1,682,212	1,089,424	1,046,178
Grand total . . . . .	4,769,020	4,271,228	4,242,599

"The discovery and utilization of the mineral wealth of the Great Lakes region, supplemented by timely appropriations by Congress for the improvement of navigation, have brought about a maritime growth in that portion of our country which is without parallel in maritime history. Our lake fleet alone is greater than that of any foreign nation except Great Britain or Germany."

ships, and thus hastened the introduction of larger and modern ships, has been, as we have seen, mainly in the traffic from and to Lake Superior made possible by the canal. In the second place, the iron ore from which the iron and steel ships are constructed comes from the iron mines of northern Michigan and Wisconsin, which have been made available by the canal route from the mines to the ports in the southern lakes.

The mention of these iron ores brings up the second phase of the economic effects of the "Soo" Canal,—those on the production and marketing of commodities. The case of iron and steel may well be given the first place as the largest item in the traffic through the canal. The most striking features in the iron and steel industries since 1880 have been the decline in the importance of the Pennsylvania mines, the development of the Lake Superior region, and the transfer of the manufacture of pig iron and steel from the east to the west of the Alleghenies. Several factors have served to bring about this remarkable shift. The Superior ores are of the quality available for making steel by the Bessemer process; the large deposits have made profitable the use of labor-saving machinery in mining, and the construction of special terminals for loading and unloading the ore. But an equally important factor is the low rates of freight from the mines to the manufacturing points in Ohio, western Pennsylvania and Illinois by the water route through the canal. In 1895 the rate from the mines to Erie ports was eighty cents per ton, equal to nine-tenths of a mill per ton mile. The lowest railroad rate per ton mile would equal a charge of \$2.59 a ton from Duluth to Cleveland; and as the price of red hematite ore of Bessemer quality at Cleveland in 1895 was \$2.80 a ton, the dependence of Lake Superior ore on the water route may be easily seen.

An interesting case of interacting causes is to be seen in the relation between the Lake Superior iron mines and the shipping on the Great Lakes. It was the development of

the iron mines which furnished the trade of the large steel steamships, and also the material for constructing them, while the use of the larger and better ships has lowered freight rates and still further developed the iron industry.

The development of the Lake Superior iron mines has been an important factor in causing the great reduction in the price of Bessemer steel during the last sixteen years, and it is this reduction that has made possible the largely increased use of steel in ship-building, in bridges, in heavier rails, and in the tall buildings of our large cities. Indirectly then, all these improvements have depended to a large degree on the existence of the Saint Mary's Falls Canal. The extent of this relation may be indicated in some degree by the statistics of the iron ore movement through the canal. From 1860 to 1881 the amount of iron ore passing through the canal increased from 100,000 tons to 750,000 tons per year; but since the construction of the larger lock the increase has been at a much greater rate. In 1887, 2,500,000 tons went through the canal; and for each of the years, 1895 and 1896, 8,000,000 tons. Throughout the period since 1881 the traffic in iron ore has formed about one-half the total tonnage passing through the canal. The figures for 1895 and 1896 are equal to four-fifths of the total production of the Lake Superior mines, which in turn constitutes two-thirds of the total iron ore output of the United States.\*

The most important part of the traffic through the "Soo" Canal, however, is not iron ore, but wheat and flour. The value of these items in the canal traffic is three times that of the iron ore, and equal to \$70,000,000, or more than a third of the valuation of the total commerce through the canal. In volume the traffic has grown from 3,500,000 bushels of wheat and 600,000 barrels of flour in 1881 to 63,250,000 bushels of wheat and nearly 9,000,000 barrels of flour in 1896. The last figures account for a large fraction of the 467,000,000 bushels of wheat raised in the United

\*See Table VI.

States in 1896, being in fact almost equal to that portion of the crop exported. The movement of wheat through the canal just about equals the total receipts at Buffalo and Erie.

It is not, however, possible to give the canal alone the credit for having developed this wheat trade. The production of the wheat was only made possible by the construction of railroads through Minnesota and the Dakotas, and these same railroads provide a means of getting the wheat to market via Chicago. But, if all-rail rates had to be paid Minnesota and Dakota wheat and flour could not compete so well with that from the country near the eastern markets, as it does by having water rates from Duluth to Buffalo. It should also be borne in mind that railroad building in Dakota and Minnesota began on a large scale only after the enlargement of the canal, when it was seen that they could connect with a through direct water route to Buffalo. The canal has therefore been an important factor in developing wheat production in the country west of Lake Superior.\*

Besides wheat there has been a considerable traffic in other grain, but this first assumed large dimensions in the year 1896 when 27,000,000 bushels of grain other than wheat went through the canal, as against 8,000,000 bushels in the previous year. As yet this is a less important item than that of wheat, but the relations between the canal and the development of the traffic are the same in both cases.

The same relations can also be traced in the development of the lumber traffic. This grew from 82,000,000 feet in 1881 to 685,000,000 feet in 1896. As in the case of wheat a considerable increase would have resulted from the construction of railroads, but the construction of railroads has been hastened and increased by the existence of the water route to the east through the canal, and it is only by cheap water rates that such a huge traffic has been developed. If, however, the cutting down of forests is the true explanation

\*See Table VI.



of the destructive spring floods in the Mississippi Valley the encouragement given to the lumber traffic by the canal may not after all have been of economic advantage to the country as a whole.

The other important item in the south-bound traffic through the canal does not seem to have been dependent on the canal. The amount of copper going by this route increased from 29,000 tons in 1881 to 116,000 tons in 1896; but the cheaper freights made possible by the canal can have had little effect in promoting the production of an article valued at \$200 a ton.

Of the north-bound traffic the only item of large dimensions is that of coal. In 1881, 295,000 tons of coal passed through the canal; in 1896, over 3,000,000 tons. The whole of this traffic may be said to have been created by the canal. The lowest railroad rates would be too high to allow any coal to be carried to the country around Lake Superior, but the lake steamers, going back empty for their cargoes of iron ore and wheat, can afford to carry coal at rates which seem incredible. In 1890, the average freight rate on coal from Buffalo to Duluth was thirty cents a ton, and for part of the time it was only ten cents a ton. It is through such rates that the northward movement of coal and the consequent development of a large iron manufacturing industry near the ore mines are made possible.

The geographical changes in production that have resulted from the operation of the Saint Mary's Falls Canal have been accompanied by important movements of population. A definite connection can be shown between the canal and certain particular population movements, but with other changes the canal has been only one of several factors. The increase of population around the shores of Lake Superior may fairly be ascribed to the development which has been given to that country, by the canal. Taking the counties bordering on Lake Superior, we find that from 1880 to 1890 the population of the Michigan counties increased from 61,750

to 116,600; of the Wisconsin counties, from 8000 to 41,000, and of the Minnesota counties, from 6400 to 54,700. The total increase is not a startling figure in the United States, but compared with the percentage increase in these same states as a whole the result is striking. During the decade the population of Michigan and Wisconsin increased in each case about 27 per cent, and of Minnesota about 70 per cent; in the Lake Superior counties the per cent of increase was, in Michigan 90 per cent, in Wisconsin 400 per cent, and in Minnesota 800 per cent. The only explanation of the difference is that new lines of industry have been opened up by the larger "Soo" Canal. One conspicuous feature of this increase of population in the Lake Superior region is the development of cities. Of the total increase of 136,000, 72,000 occurs in the six cities of Duluth, Superior, Ishpeming, Ashland, Marquette and Iron Mountain. Duluth, from a town of 3500 in 1880, had become a city of 33,000 in 1890, and six years later had a population of 60,000. Ishpeming increased during the ten years from 6000 to 11,000; Superior from 4700 to 9000; while the other three places were not in existence in 1880, but had populations between 8500 and 12,000 in 1890.

Among the movements of population where the effects of the "Soo" Canal have been greater but are not so exactly calculable, may be mentioned the settlement of the Red River Valley and the increase in the cities on and near the southern shores of Lake Erie. The first of these is connected directly with the development of wheat production in that region, in which, as has been seen, the canal had a most important influence. The second is due, in large part, to the development of the iron and steel manufacturing industries, brought about by the use of iron ore from the Lake Superior region.

A comparison of the influence of the Saint Mary's Falls Canal with that of the Suez Canal, shows that both have led to a rapid change in the material and character of ships used, that brought about by the Suez Canal being the most

important, both in the extent of new shipping and in the consequent dislocation of old forms of industry. Both canals, too, have led to important changes in the sources of production of several commodities, and the effects of the American canal on iron and wheat production are greater than any effects traceable to the Suez Canal. In the case of the more general changes in which the extent of the influence of the canals cannot be measured, no accurate comparison between the two is possible, but considering the greater area and population in Asia affected by the Suez Canal, it is evident that its influences on general development have been greater.

Both canals have led to the production of wheat on a large scale in areas hitherto unused for that purpose, these districts constituting a large part of the total increase in the area devoted to wheat production. In consequence of this total increase of wheat raising area during the last fifteen years, and the cheaper transportation to European markets, there has been a large reduction in the normal price of wheat. Cheaper food and less distress from famines and the fall in prices received by farmers in the old wheat producing districts have been due in no small degree to the canals.

New York City.

J. A. FAIRLIE.

# TABLES.

## I.

	Date Opened.	Length.	Breadth		Depth of Channel.	Locks.		Total Excavation.	Expense of Construction.
			Water Level.	Bottom.		Number.	Lockage.		
		Miles	Ft.	Ft.	Ft.			Cubic Yards.	
1. Helder (Holland) Canal . . . . .	1826	50½	110	30	18	0	..		
2. Suez Canal . . . . .	1869	100	196	72	26	0	..	100,000,000	\$80,000,000
3. Second Amsterdam Canal . . . . .	1876	15½	..	88½	23	0	..	..	15,000,000
4. St. Mary's Falls Canal . . . . .	1881	1½	..	80	17	1	18	..	2,000,000
<i>Ibid</i> enlargement . . . . .	1896	1½	..	100	20	1	18	..	4,750,000
5. Welland Canal . . . . .	1887	27	..	..	14	26	327	..	24,000,000
6. Corinth Canal . . . . .	1893	4	92	52	28	0	..	11,000,000	12,000,000
7. Manchester Canal . . . . .	1894	35	..	120	26	5	60	50,000,000	75,000,000
8. North Sea—Baltic Canal . . . . .	1896	61½	..	67	28	2	..	100,000,000	40,000,000

*II.—Tonnage of Shipping Entering and Clearing at Amsterdam and Rotterdam.*

YEAR.	AMSTERDAM.				ROTTERDAM.			
	Entered.		Cleared.		Entered.		Cleared.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1856 . . .	1596	401,961	1458	279,208	2254	532,401	1837	461,340
1860 . . .	1997	411,175	1472	277,527	2369	666,431	2046	597,145
1870 . . .	1390	405,498	808	225,958	2871	1,125,124	2368	955,375
1876 . . .	1171	391,553	1248	410,168	3443	1,406,044	3786	1,524,820
1877 . . .	1517	604,179	1527	608,094	3266	1,386,779	3410	1,437,241
1882 . . .	1632	877,182	1628	856,084	3859	2,002,439	4002	2,047,337
1887 . . .	1473	921,140	952	579,466	3853	2,386,748	2754	1,412,460
1891 . . .	1569	1,051,526	1027	632,821	4208	2,865,185	2686	1,400,993
1895 . . .	1512	1,109,082	1138	743,754	4442	3,769,480	2764	1,658,136

Compiled from "*Staatkundig en Staathuishoudkundig Jaarboekjen.*"

*III.—Traffic through Suez and St. Mary's Falls Canals.*

YEAR.	ST. MARY'S FALLS CANAL.		SUEZ CANAL.		
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Tonnage from India.
1855 . . . . .	..	106,296*	..	.....	.....
1860 . . . . .	..	403,657	..	.....	.....
1865 . . . . .	997	409,062	..	.....	.....
1870 . . . . .	1,828	690,826	486	436,609	.....
1871 . . . . .	1,637	751,101	765	761,467	464,198
1872 . . . . .	2,004	914,735	1082	1,160,743	626,824
1873 . . . . .	2,517	1,204,446	1173	1,367,767	816,527
1874 . . . . .	1,734	1,070,857	1264	1,631,650	1,123,968
1875 . . . . .	2,033	1,259,534	1491	2,009,984	1,440,270
1876 . . . . .	2,417	1,541,676	1457	2,006,771	1,518,690
1877 . . . . .	2,451	1,439,216	1663	2,355,447	1,617,839
1878 . . . . .	2,567	1,667,136	1593	2,269,678	1,426,957
1879 . . . . .	3,121	1,677,071	1477	2,263,332	1,609,769
1880 . . . . .	3,503	1,734,890*	2026	3,057,421	2,133,872
1881 . . . . .	4,004	1,567,741*	2727	4,136,779	2,887,968
1882 . . . . .	4,774	2,029,521*	3198	5,074,808	2,585,920
1883 . . . . .	4,315	2,267,105	3307	5,775,861	3,151,792
1884 . . . . .	5,689	2,874,557	3284	5,871,500	2,817,551
1885 . . . . .	5,380	3,256,628	3624	6,335,752	3,058,641
1886 . . . . .	7,424	4,527,759	3100	5,767,655	2,946,650
1887 . . . . .	9,355	5,494,649	3137	5,903,024	3,045,735
1888 . . . . .	7,803	6,411,423	3440	6,640,834	3,143,957
1889 . . . . .	9,579	7,516,022	3425	6,783,187	3,055,364
1890 . . . . .	10,557	9,041,213	3389	6,890,004	3,308,516
1891 . . . . .	10,191	8,888,759	4207	8,698,777	4,431,824
1892 . . . . .	12,580	11,214,333	3559	7,712,028	3,525,259
1893 . . . . .	12,008	10,796,572	3341	7,659,068	3,563,310
1894 . . . . .	14,491	13,195,860	3352	8,039,175	.....
1895 . . . . .	17,956	15,062,580	3434	8,448,383	.....
1896 . . . . .	18,615	16,239,061	3409	8,594,307	.....

\* Before 1881 the figures for St. Mary's Falls Canal are gross tons; after 1881, and all figures for Suez Canal, are net tonnage.

IV.—*Values of Indian Exports by Countries.*

(In tens of rupees.)

COUNTRIES.	1870.	1876.	1883-4.	1893-4.
United Kingdom . . . . .	27,798,698	28,381,699	39,057,340	37,167,329
France . . . . .	4,227,279	4,693,359	8,368,522	10,727,206
Germany . . . . .	77,101	139,948	616,352	7,648,508
Belgium . . . . .		137,271	3,403,359	5,726,272
Holland . . . . .		183,421	340,426	1,482,370
Spain . . . . .			226,861	452,787
Italy . . . . .	1,020,249	1,223,814	3,520,741	3,574,420
Austria . . . . .		1,410,295	2,252,389	2,988,164
Russia . . . . .		511,620	149,635	665,327
Egypt . . . . .		204,688	3,598,954	3,722,692
Mauritius . . . . .	474,333	1,209,643	902,052	1,441,458
Aden and Arabia . . . . .	521,624	1,221,814	1,399,259	2,252,627
Ceylon . . . . .	1,930,089	2,689,048	1,965,676	3,679,870
China . . . . .	12,501,425	11,520,414	13,201,865	11,290,966
Japan . . . . .		6,125	287,870	1,419,369
Persia . . . . .	1,463,454	618,973	1,475,672	1,990,510
Straits Settlements . . . . .	1,321,902	2,642,797	3,088,327	5,018,822
United States . . . . .	1,5-6,932	1,778,409	3,102,689	3,359,821
Total Exports . . . . .	53,496,762	56,839,851	89,102,868	110,472,327
Exports via Suez Canal . . . . .		22,188,108	50,376,033	69,793,888

Compiled from Statistical Reports of India in British Parliamentary Papers.

V.—*Leading Articles of Indian Foreign Trade.*

		1870.	1876.	1883-4.	1893-4.
<i>Exports.</i>					
Cotton . . . . .	Cwts. .	4,953,879	5,010,785	5,987,278	4,794,152
Rice . . . . .	Cwts. .	10,614,644	20,416,032	27,039,859	24,649,723
Wheat . . . . .	Cwts. .	78,208	2,510,768	21,001,412	12,156,851
Hides and Skins . . . . .	No. . .	13,675,997	19,441,133	28,183,506	36,216,806
Jute Bags . . . . .	No. . .	6,441,865	19,258,250	63,645,984	131,266,827
Jute Cloth . . . . .	Yards .		3,921,065	7,049,165	60,670,094
Seeds . . . . .	Cwts. .	4,379,784	10,507,404	17,357,884	24,238,605
Spices . . . . .	Lbs. . .	19,351,360	25,266,851	18,514,377	24,347,989
Tea . . . . .	Lbs. . .	11,480,213	24,561,826	60,473,113	120,907,616
Wool . . . . .	Lbs. . .	20,392,634	24,138,636	25,235,180	36,821,308
<i>Imports.</i>					
Cotton Goods . . . . .	Yards .	919,636,793	1,187,150,170	1,724,095,627	2,129,704,904
Petroleum Oils . . . . .	Gals. .	500,000	800,000	13,107,267	86,611,938
Silk Manufactures . . . . .	Yards .	2,778,143	8,111,562	11,550,961	16,418,727
Woolens . . . . .	Yards .	4,886,887	7,233,629	9,316,192	15,054,352



## VI.—Wheat and Iron Ore Production in the United States.

STATES.	WHEAT (BUSHELS).				IRON ORE (TONS).		
	1870	1880	1890	1893	1880	1889	1895
New York . . . .	12,178,462	11,587,766	8,304,539	6,846,059	1,126,899	1,247,537	307,256
New Jersey . . . .	19,672,967	19,462,405	21,595,499	18,351,508	676,225	415,510	282,433
Pennsylvania . . . .	27,882,150	46,014,869	35,559,208	38,916,608	1,951,498	1,560,234	900,340
Ohio . . . . .	27,747,222	47,284,853	37,318,798	35,579,404	488,753	254,294	44,834
Indiana . . . . .	30,128,405	51,110,502	37,389,444	15,507,313	..	..	..
Illinois . . . . .	29,435,692	31,154,205	8,249,786	6,749,224	..	..	..
Iowa . . . . .	14,315,926	24,966,627	30,113,821	15,507,313	..	..	..
Missouri . . . . .	2,391,198	17,324,141	30,399,871	23,251,973	..	..	..
Kansas . . . . .	16,265,773	35,532,543	24,771,171	19,920,714	1,640,814	5,856,169	5,812,444
Michigan . . . . .	25,606,344	24,884,689	11,698,922	8,661,485	37,000	837,399	649,351
Wisconsin . . . . .	18,866,073	34,601,030	52,300,247	30,694,685	..	864,508	3,866,453
Minnesota . . . . .	170,662	2,830,289	{ 16,541,138	20,521,389	..	..	..
South Dakota . . . .	287,745,626	459,483,137	{ 26,403,365	26,438,208	..	..	..
North Dakota . . . .	..	..	468,373,968	496,131,725	..	..	..
United States . . . .	..	..	..	..	7,120,362	14,518,041	15,957,614

## BOOK DEPARTMENT.

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### NOTES.

IN HIS ACCOUNT of the new Anglo-Saxon societies in Australasia and South Africa\* M. Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu, a son of the distinguished economist of the *Collège de France*, gives us something more than a mere book of travels. While it contains many acute observations on Australian and South African affairs due to the author's personal experience, it co-ordinates a great body of information which could not have been gathered by the casual traveler, but shows the research of the scholar and the economist. For the author is concerned first with the economic and social life of the countries he visited and shows himself apt in describing it. While he does not conceal that he shares the strong individualistic tendencies of the school in which he was educated, his account of the economic legislation of the colonies is candid and tolerant. He does not allow himself to become either advocate or antagonist of these measures, but preserves carefully the attitude of an impartial observer. His account of these recent developments is graphic, while his characterization of more fundamental traits of social organization is just and well balanced. He is equally happy in his delineation of life in South Africa.

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A SERIES OF lectures delivered by members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society,† and now published, consider the different methods of beautifying our cities. The first lecture treats of the relation of art to life. The second lecture deals with the elements of beauty in the cities of the ancient world, and the possible æsthetic combinations in modern cities. In the succeeding lectures this thought is carried out in detail; the decoration of public buildings; public spaces, parks and gardens and color in architecture being treated in separate lectures. From the standpoint of civic development, the emphasis of the æsthetic instincts is becoming increasingly important. Many of the

\**Les nouvelles sociétés Anglo-Saxonnes, Australie et Nouvelle-Zélande, Afrique Australe.* PAR PIERRE LEROY-BEAULIEU. Pp. 493. Price 4 fr. Paris: A. Colin et Cie, 1897.

†*Art and Life, and the Building and Decoration of Cities.* A Series of Lectures by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Delivered at the Fifth Exhibition of the Society in 1896, Pp. 260. Price, 6s. London: Rivington, Percival & Co., 1897.

present evils in city life would not be tolerated by a population having well-developed artistic standards. It is, therefore, a matter of considerable importance that the best results of artistic construction and decoration be placed in such form as to be readily appreciated by the mass of the population. Although we cannot expect mere exposition of artistic principles to become the main factor in the development of new tastes and artistic standards, nevertheless it may play a part of some importance. Viewed in this light, all those interested in civic development will welcome this popular treatment of the æsthetic problems of cities.

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THE BULLETIN OF the Department of Labor for November, 1897, contains a lengthy and valuable paper by Dr. G. O. Virtue on "The Anthracite Mine Laborers." Dr. Virtue has been studying the anthracite coal industry for three years and his two publications evidence a thorough knowledge of the subject. The paper on "The Anthracite Combination" published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, April, 1896, is a good historical sketch of one side of the anthracite industry. This paper on the mine laborers presents another aspect of the industry and one whose study is especially timely. The condition of the anthracite mine laborers is deplorable; they are underpaid, their employment is rendered unsteady by frequent closings of the mines, and they are especially subject to the competition of low grade immigrant labor. The consequences of these labor conditions are serious not only from the standpoint of the mine laborers themselves, but also because of the social dangers incident to the presence in the social organization of such a large body of discontented and turbulent men. It is well known that the causes which have produced this condition of the anthracite coal laborers are two, the forces which have led to the over-production or over-mining of anthracite coal, and the immigration policy adopted by the United States in the "Act to encourage immigration" passed in 1864. The worst phase of the industrial situation of the coal miners is that it does not seem to be one containing in itself forces of self-improvement. Since the downfall of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association which existed from 1868 to 1875, the miners have not succeeded in establishing an organization comprising the laborers in all the anthracite fields. The rapid substitution of foreign laborers for Americans makes organization more difficult, and this substitution is bound to continue under the present immigration laws of the United States. Dr. Virtue's paper gives a clear analysis of present conditions and a concise history of the events that have brought them about.

EX-PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S Princeton Anniversary Address on "The Self-Made Man in American Life," has just appeared in Crowell's "What is Worth While Series" of booklets.\* It is a candid, manly and inspiring discussion of the possibilities of usefulness and of the limitations present in that peculiar educational product known as the self-made man who has played so conspicuous a part in American life. Such men do not always realize their own limitations as clearly as Mr. Cleveland has stated them, and it would be well if every one on the road to success won in this way could be led to share the author's large views of duty and of the demands of public service. The series in which this little book appears takes its name from a booklet with that title by Anna Robertson Brown, Ph. D. (Mrs. Lindsay), published in 1893. Two more recent essays by the same author and in the same series, "Culture and Reform" (1896) and "Giving What We Have" (1897), are of interest to students of social topics.

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PROFESSOR GUSTAV COHN, of the University of Göttingen, has published under the title, "*Die deutsche Frauenbewegung*,"† a very interesting study of the movement for the higher education and enlarged social activities of women in Germany. He has drawn largely upon his knowledge of the same movement in England for his inspiration and for his attitude toward events in Germany. The book is written in a liberal spirit by one who looks upon the slowness with which women in Germany are accorded opportunities for personal independence and culture as one of the obstacles to social progress in that country. On the other hand his contribution to the forward movement is conservative and based on a minute study of existing conditions and prompted by no desire to undermine the domestic qualities for which the German woman is famous. Professor Cohn's monograph is one that any careful student of the woman question in Germany will want to read. An appendix gives a good bibliography of German works on this subject.

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IN A CAREFULLY prepared monograph,‡ the well-known historical investigator, M. Henri Doniol, gives us a minute account of the negotiations between M. Thiers and General Manteuffel, which resulted

\* Pp. 32, cloth. Price, 35c. New York and Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1897.

† *Die deutsche Frauenbewegung*. By GUSTAV COHN. Pp. 226. Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1896.

‡ *M. Thiers, le Comte de St-Vallier, le Général Manteuffel; Libération du territoire (1871-1873)*, Documents inédits, par HENRI DONIOL, Membre de l'Institut. Pp. 447. Price, 4 fr. Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1897.

in the evacuation of French territory by the last German forces, in September, 1873. The work is based upon the hitherto unpublished correspondence of those engaged in the prolonged negotiations. M. Doniol observes with truth that the redemption of their territory by the French is one of those historical facts which hold everyone's attention at the time, but are speedily forgotten since they are neither intimately associated with the other events of the period nor with those which followed. Hence this work, conscientious as it is, is scarcely calculated to hold the attention of anyone except the special student of the period or of some survivor among the unfortunates who experienced the exasperation caused by the presence of the detested conquerors.

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AT LAST STUDENTS of economic theory are provided with "A Brief Introduction to the Infinitesimal Calculus,"\* written especially for their benefit, by a prominent mathematical economist. How great a boon this is, only those can say who have striven in vain to keep abreast of the literature of their subject because of their slight knowledge of the higher mathematics. Professor Fisher's little work is exceedingly clear and supplied with abundant examples which should make its mastery easy to any one not entirely without the mathematical faculty.

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MR. GEORGE M. FISK, who received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Munich, in 1896, submitted for his thesis a monograph,† which has since been published, on the diplomatic and commercial relations between Germany and the United States. The body of the book is concerned with the history of the diplomatic relations of the United States and Germany, and the narrative is written in a painstaking and impartial manner. The tenth and twelfth chapters deal respectively with the commercial policy and the trade relations of the two countries. The chapter on commercial policy is a brief summary of the tariff policy of each country, compiled from secondary sources. The analysis of the mutual trade of the two countries is detailed and informing. It is

\* Designed especially to aid in reading mathematical economics and statistics. By IRVING FISHER, Ph. D. Pp. vi, 84. Price, 75c. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

† *Die handelspolitischen und sonstigen völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Eine historisch-statistische Studie von Dr. GEORGE M. FISK. Münchener Volkswirtschaftliche Studien. Pp. xiv, 254. Stuttgart, 1897.*



to be hoped that an English edition of this excellent monograph may be brought out. In case this is done it would be well to change the order of chapters ten and eleven and complete the narrative of the diplomatic history before beginning the discussion of commerce. The book sadly wants an index.

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ONE OF THE last volumes to be added to the Story of the Nations Series treats of the history of "British India."\* Its author, Mr. R. W. Frazer, is an enthusiastic admirer of the country and its people, and exposes the weaknesses in the administrative system which the English government has adopted, at the same time that he eulogizes the work that men like Robert Clive and Sir John Lawrence have performed for the Indian empire. He even adds the name of Warren Hastings to the list of heroes of India, and devotes a chapter to proving that Hastings was a martyr to the ignorance and prejudice of English statesmen who never clearly understood what sort of a problem was presented in the government of India. Most interesting to the reader concerned with the contemporary phases of the Eastern question is the last chapter, in which the author describes the "Moral and Material Progress" of the country under British rule. He shows clearly that the great problem of the present is to adapt western ideas of governmental expenditure to eastern poverty. The mistake that Englishmen have made in trying to improve India has been the mistake of going too fast. They have introduced all sorts of reforms that the people were not ready for, and plunged the government more and more heavily into debt. The consequence is that taxation is now pushed to its extreme limit and the country is in a poor position to face any serious difficulty like a general crop failure or another rebellion. On the other hand the author shows how much is being done to educate the Indians themselves, and agrees with Sir Alfred Lyall that England's chief mission in India at present is to "superintend the tranquil elevation of the whole moral and intellectual standard" of the people.

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AS A CAREFULLY digested, thorough and conservative study of social and economic conditions in the American cotton states during the time of slavery, Dr. Halle's recent book† will be a convenient work of reference for the student of this phase of American life.

\* Pp. xviii, 399. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.

† *Baumwollproduktion und Pflanzungswirtschaft in den Nordamerikanischen Südstaaten* By Dr. ERNST VON HALLE. Pp. xxiv., 369. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1897.

The growth of the cotton culture in the Southern States is traced from the times of earliest planting. The course of the slave system is fully considered, and its effects on the social and industrial development of the country are clearly brought out. The gradual transformation of the region from small holdings to a landed aristocracy, dependent for all its supplies on the industrial centres of the North; the accompanying change in the thought of the people, from the deprecatory attitude of earlier writers to the pro-slavery economics of the school of Calhoun; the influence of the opposing anti-slavery theory, leading to the final crisis—all these and many other points of collateral interest are brought together and described in a concise and logical manner.

The bibliography is full and well chosen, and the book contains a series of statistical tabulations which are so compiled as to give much assistance to the reader. Dr. Halle has made a useful contribution to American economic history.

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A NEW OUTLINE of European history from the year 476 to 1871\* has just been brought out by Mr. Arthur Hassall, of Christ Church, Oxford, which boasts of several original features. In place of the division of history into periods and the presentation of the events for each country in succession, familiar in Ploetz, Mr. Hassall has adopted the plan of presenting in four parallel columns and in unbroken sequence contemporary happenings in Germany, Eastern, Southern and Northern Europe, England and France. By virtue of this arrangement the student has always before his eyes as he turns over the pages the events which happened in different parts of Europe during the same year. He is thus spared the trouble of constantly referring back or forward in order to maintain his grasp on contemporary events. This one merit will probably insure a wide use of the work as a book of reference, although the matter actually presented is in many respects less satisfactory than that to be found in other similar handbooks. The author seems to have made use exclusively of political histories in preparing his compilation. Events of the greatest importance in the social and economic history of Europe are passed over entirely. For example, there is no mention in these pages of the invention of printing or of the steam engine, while the only one of the important textile inventions which occurred in England during the latter half of last century to be referred to is that of the

\* *A Handbook of European History, 476-1871*. Chronologically arranged. By ARTHUR HASSALL. Pp. iv, 383. Price, \$2.25. London and New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

spinning-mule, which is assigned to a wrong date (1775 instead of 1779). The book is liberally provided with appendices containing summaries of important periods, genealogical charts and lists of sovereigns. It is without an index.

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ONE OF THE most interesting state treasurer's reports that has been issued during the current year is the "Biennial Report of the Treasurer of the State of Iowa,"\* covering the period from July 1, 1895, to June 30, 1897. Unlike so many state treasurers, the treasurer of Iowa, Mr. John Herriott, regards it as his duty to describe the financial operations of his state in such a way that every citizen may understand them. The result is that his report contains an exceedingly lucid explanation of the various steps by which Iowa has plunged into debt during the last two years, and an instructive criticism of some of the administrative features of Iowa's financial system. Between July 1, 1895, and June 30, 1897, warrants against the state treasury were issued to the amount of \$4,748,264.33, and of these, warrants to the amount of \$447,500.73 remained unpaid at the close of the fiscal year. The greater part of these had been presented and endorsed by the treasurer so that they might draw interest at six per cent, there being no money in the treasury with which to pay them. Not all of this sum represents a deficit of receipts below expenditures, however, for against it is to be placed small balances in the state and county treasuries, reducing the uncovered floating debt to \$366,741.96. The report explains this deficit in part by reference to the extraordinary expenditures entailed by accidents to state institutions and in part by reference to the falling off in revenue due to the business depression, and furnishes abundant reasons for believing that it will be made good during the next biennial period if the reforms urged in the report are carried out. These reforms refer to three matters. First, it is urged that a change ought to be made in the taxing laws of the state which should cause the revenue to come in at quarterly instead of semi-annual periods, and thus supply the treasury with funds at the times that it has to make its heaviest disbursements. Such a change would enable the treasurer in normal years to meet the obligations of the state without recourse to the expensive expedient of a floating debt. Secondly, the treasurer believes that the sale of unpaid warrants, which according to the laws of the state draw interest at six per cent from the date that they have been presented for payment and endorsed as "unpaid" by the treasurer, ought

\* By JOHN HERRIOTT, Treasurer. Pp. 118. Des Moines: F. R. Conway, 1897.

to be controlled entirely by state officials. The credit of Iowa is so excellent that these six per cent state warrants command high premiums, and under the present system these premiums are lost to the state. The third reform has to do with the collateral inheritance tax, which at present is very poorly administered. The difficulty with this tax in Iowa is that no one department of the government is made responsible for its assessment and collection. In consequence a large proportion of estates passing to collateral heirs escape the tax in part or altogether. The remedy suggested is that the state treasurer be given more ample powers in connection with this tax and that the courts be relieved of their responsibilities in the matter. In addition to the information in regard to Iowa's financial system interesting comparisons are suggested in the Report between the taxing system of that state and those of other states, and this makes it especially valuable.

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"FAITH AND SOCIAL SERVICE"\* is the title of the volume of Lowell Lectures for 1896 which were given by Dean Hodges, of the Episcopal Theological School of Cambridge. The topics discussed in these eight lectures were (1) The New Forces; (2) Indifference; (3) Doubt; (4) Poverty; (5) Labor; (6) Moral Reform; (7) The City; (8) The Divided Church. They are models of literary form, full of wit and humor, and yet dealing with most serious social evils in a fair and thoroughly scientific spirit. Dr. Hodges shows that he has knowledge of the scientific literature on the topics he discusses, and he is not carried away by his sympathies, but is exceedingly strong in his analysis of existing conditions and their causes, and is conservative in his constructive propositions. It is a book that will fill the want keenly felt in almost all the churches of the present time for light on the moral aspects of the social problems with which the church has to deal. It is perhaps not to the credit of economists and sociologists that a theologian by profession has supplied this want rather better than any one else up to the present moment.

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IN THE THIRD volume of the *Bibliothèque Socialiste Internationale*, Professor Antonio Labriola supplies an interesting history and defence of Karl Marx's social philosophy under the title, "*Essais sur la conception matérialiste de l'histoire*."† In the author's opinion the

\* *Faith and Social Service*. Pp. 270. Price, \$1.25. New York: Thos. Whittaker, 1896.

† Avec une préface de G. Sorel. Pp. 348. Price, 3.50 fr. Paris: Giard et Brière, 1897.

ideas of Marx have been grossly misunderstood, and a large part of his work is devoted to explaining away difficulties and replying to capacious critics. The work will be interesting to foreign readers for the evidence it furnishes of the progress "scientific socialism" is making in France.

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THE MONOGRAPH \* OF Dr. Reizenstein upon the early history of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad is devoted largely to a chronological account of the construction of the road and of the financiering of the enterprise. A chapter of thirteen pages contains a discussion of the "general results" which the road has produced upon the economic development of Baltimore and Maryland. One dislikes to speak disparagingly of a work that gives evidence of thorough research, but the monograph under review is disappointing for two reasons. In the first place the chronological narration of the events connected with the construction of an American railroad has comparatively little value at the present time. Several such narratives have been written and they all tell much the same story. Railway history should now be studied with reference to the light which American experience throws upon the numerous present problems of railroad transportation. The second disappointing feature of Dr. Reizenstein's monograph is that it stops just when the history of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad begins to be important for students of transportation, *i. e.*, when the Baltimore & Ohio became one of several rival trunk lines. The problems of railway management and of governmental regulation that resulted from the competition and consolidation of railroads became prominent after 1853. A discriminating interpretation of the history of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad since that date would be of much value.

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IN A SMALL volume entitled "*Die Produktions und Preisentwicklung der Rohprodukte der Textilindustrie*,"† Dr. Wilhelm Schultze has given us a monograph which will be very helpful in connection with studies of price movements and standards of value. The author follows the suggestion made by Dr. Lindsay in his "*Preisbewegung der Edelmetalle*" that groups of related articles should be studied as to their conditions of production and consumption in various periods

\**The Economic History of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, 1827-1853.* By MILTON REIZENSTEIN, Ph. D. Pp. 89. Price, 50 cents. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1897.

† Pp. viii, 107. Price, 2.50 m. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1896.



before any attempt is made to estimate the causes of their rise or fall in price. In general Dr. Schultze follows the same method as Dr. Lindsay, selecting the raw products of the textile industries for consideration. The material which he has brought together bearing on the variations in price and conditions of production and consumption of cotton, wool, silk, flax, hemp and jute, gives a very clear picture of the changes in these industries, and forms the best kind of a basis for an intelligent understanding of the price fluctuations. The author is very happy in his use of diagrams, but rather timid in drawing deductions from his material. He is perhaps right in not assigning statistically the amount of fall in price to the various causes he enumerates, but all his readers will not agree that he has accounted for all the fall in price without taking into account monetary causes at all. It should be noted also that the period covered by this investigation is from 1851 to 1890, and that the author has wisely chosen for comparisons the average prices for the five years, 1851-55, as a base line instead of the usual date of 1873, which is not fairly representative of normal conditions.

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THE COAL MINING industry seems to be one peculiarly liable to the evils of excessive competition. In nearly every country where coal is produced complaints of a too rapid and unprofitable production are accompanied by frequent strikes on the part of coal miners whose wages have been reduced to the starvation point. In "Some Notes on the Present State of the Coal Trade in the United Kingdom,"\* Mr. D. A. Thomas, M. P., describes in detail the evil as it presents itself in the South Wales and Monmouthshire coal district. In addition to statistics in regard to the coal production and exportation of the United Kingdom, his monograph contains information in regard to the coal trade of other countries and brief descriptions of the different plans that have been adopted in Germany and this country for curtailing production. On the basis of the facts which he has collected he proposes that the colliery owners in South Wales and Monmouthshire enter into an agreement, which shall have the binding force of law, to limit the production of their respective mines for each month to a certain stipulated proportion of the total output of the whole district. Those mines which produce more than their share are to pay fines in proportion to their excessive production to be used to compensate those colliery owners who should produce less than their quota. The advantage of this arrangement would be that each colliery owner would be interested in producing his share and no more than his

\* Pp. 85. Price, 5s. Cardiff, 1896.

share of coal during any one period. All being alike interested in maintaining a remunerative price, the author reasonably anticipates as a result of this arrangement the cessation of the present cut-throat competition. Whether the colliery owners can agree on their respective proportions of the total production and whether they can be made to adhere to an agreement once entered into, are questions which the future must decide.

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## REVIEWS.

*The Middle Period, 1817-1858.* By JOHN W. BURGESS, Ph. D., LL. D. Pp. xvi, 544. Price \$1.75. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897.

In Professor Burgess's latest work we have added to our stock of histories a book which by the frankness, directness, and expressiveness of its style has attracted more than usual attention. Covering the period between 1817 and 1858, there is attempted an interpretation of American history which will demonstrate to the South "its error in secession and rebellion." There are no foot-notes, nothing but the usual list of titles; for the author has gone "to original matter, which is usually disconnected and fragmentary, and practically inaccessible to the general reader."

An account of American historiography written twenty-five years hence will place the work of our historians in an interesting light. Thinness may be too harsh a word to use, but certainly inadequateness of conception may be applied without any injustice to that labor which thus far has been spent in portraying the development of the United States. Except Henry Adams and Professor McMaster, no writer brings to his work anything but the conventional literary, legalistic, and essentially parliamentary frame of mind. Leaving aside any discussion as to the meaning of history or whether a writer can give *all* the facts, there remains the feeling that though the points of contact are many, they are all on the surface; that there is missed the few deep points on which the life and heart of the period is centred. One feels the force of the tendency to attend to the externals of history, to the transitory forms which it assumes, rather than to the principles of permanent application which it includes.

There are indications that the writers on American history are departing from the old lines and it is a disappointment that Professor Burgess has not followed them. Written from the point of view of the constitutional lawyer his work adds practically nothing

to our knowledge of the period between the close of the War of 1812, and the outbreak of the Civil War. In the opening chapter, in discussing the change of Republican front there is ignored one of the great consequences of the War of 1812 upon the attitude of the administration towards manufactures. As we know, the restrictive system of Jefferson and the war destroyed the merchant marine of New England and turned the capital of that section toward investments in manufacturing enterprises, which were effectually protected by the embargo and the war. With the return of peace the New England manufacturers were forced to face the probability of ruin unless the federal government should continue in some other form the conditions which had made possible eastern industrial development. There was nothing to be gained by acting with the Federalists, the only hope was to go over to the Republicans and secure the protection as the price of support. With New England manufacturing interests looking to Washington for support, the carrying of the citadel of federalism was more than a hope. The result was that the close of the war saw the Republican party nationalized, and Federalism destroyed by an alliance between the New England manufacturing interests and the agricultural South and West. The tariff of 1816 continued the conditions necessary to sustain domestic industries and cemented the alliance which, with a change in personnel, continued down to 1829.

Again, on page 164, we have the old-time "mob of malcontents" pulling together to explain the election of Jackson, which, was "a political uprising against the monopoly of office-holding by the old official aristocracy." Not a word about the expansion of population and material interests which had thrown New England and the east generally to the edge of our political system. Not a word of the drain of labor away from the manufacturing centres to the agricultural west, nor mention of the tide of immigration which set in after 1820 replacing on the sea-board the *matériel* of a manufacturing population; all of which worked to lead New England and the eastern part of the old Middle States out of the Democratic party to support a national Republican party. The opposition of the industrial centres to internal improvements continued until the economic relations of the South with England forced the Democratic-Republican party back on its old *laissez-faire* policy. Then the eastern wing of the party saw its only chance in an alliance with the west, an alliance which gave us the "American system," which was to reconcile the interests of the industrial northeast with those of the Ohio Valley. So much, in part at least, for an explanation of the "advent of the parvenus."

For an explanation of the reforming of party lines after 1824, Professor Burgess falls back upon the personal hostility of the leaders, which certainly is an admission that the material he consulted will not revolutionize public opinion upon one very important period of our history. What is the "verse and substantiation" of the statement that "down to 1817, no influence of the slavery interest upon the question of internal improvement is discoverable?" What led a Louisiana representative to say in 1817 "We need no roads?" The answer is to be found in the economic history of the South, which since the Revolution was but a record of the development of one natural advantage to the neglect of several others; in the physiography of southeastern United States; and in the commercial relations of the South with England. Slavery was insensibly affecting the attitude of the South toward every phase of federal policy which affected the planting interests. By 1817 the old tobacco-planting aristocracy was impoverished; and it is significant reading that can be found on pages 149, 150, and 165 of the supplement to the ninth volume of *Niles' Register*. The gloom of the recitals found there shows only too clearly that Virginia and North Carolina had a strong sense of their perils, and that Virginia's opposition to internal improvements at federal expense had little to do with "her ancient principle of strict construction" (p. 118). Virginia and the Carolinas were aware that roads and canal sacross a hundred miles of mountains reached an interior region whose natural outlet was the Mississippi, while the Great Lake region was compelled to seek an outlet within the Union through New York City. And with due consideration of the enlarged interests the struggle of the sea-board communities for the control of the trade of the trans-Allegheny region has not changed its character in the last eighty years.

That undue importance has been attached to Jackson's veto of the Maysville Road Bill (p. 169) can be maintained only when the issue is confused, and confuse it Professor Burgess certainly does when he tries to make something significant out of the comparative sums appropriated for internal improvements under Adams and Jackson. The fact is that the great bulk of the appropriations under Jackson and down to the present day have been made for the improvement of rivers and harbors, while those made under preceding administrations were for roads and canals. The constitutional question involved in the latter form of federal activity was entirely different from the one involved in the former, and one is juggling with phrases if the distinction is ignored. The only view that makes this period intelligible is this: That the particularistic reaction which began with Madison's veto in 1817 reached its climax under

Jackson, who sought to make the states the administrative centres they had been in 1800; the federal government withdrew from the field of internal improvements and threw upon the states—then supposed wealthy from the distribution of a mythical surplus—the burden of connecting the different portions of the Union; the States were not equal to the task, sold their public works to individuals and the consequence was the great enlargement of corporate activity, which has done more than anything else to extend the authority of the federal government.

It is not unreasonable to expect that a work dealing with this period would contain some reference to the nominating convention; that a constitutional historian and lawyer would have given us a description of the origin and development of one of the most powerful of extra-constitutional organs. But with the exception of a few sentences on page 208, referring to the congressional caucus, the author is silent upon the subject. In the chapters on the Missouri Compromise and the Dred Scott Decision, Professor Burgess gives us an excellent statement of the positions, and, indeed, where there is any occasion for an exercise of legal analysis he handles his material well. But with all this the book is a disappointing one. Indeed it is difficult to see how a short history of this period can be written until the great wealth of material which lies unused is made available. Only when the forces which were reflected in congressional debates are brought prominently before the rising hope of the South will the "chewing the bitter cud of fancied wrong" cease. Until then we shall continue to have books which are conventional, inadequate, and uninspiring.

JOHN L. STEWART.

Philadelphia.

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*Agricultural Depression in the United States.* By W. A. COUTTS. Pp. 96. Price, 50 cents. Publications of the Michigan Political Science Association, April, 1897.

This monograph was written in competition for one of the prizes offered by Mr. David Lubin, of Sacramento, Cal., to the students of the Universities of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, for the best essay on the agricultural depression in the United States. One of the conditions of the contest required that each competitor should discuss Mr. Lubin's scheme for a bounty on agricultural exports. Considered simply as a student's essay, Mr. Coutts' work has some merit. It shows fairness of mind, ability to think clearly, fair attainments in knowledge and the spirit of the careful investigator. But considered as a contribution to our knowledge of industrial



conditions it cannot take high rank. Mr. Coutts has attempted little more than an analysis of the elements of the agricultural situation and a summary of some of the surface facts and arguments which have a bearing upon it. In very few cases has he undertaken to go back of the secondary authorities and get at the bottom facts.

The problem he set for himself was twofold, to determine whether profits in the industry of agriculture were below those in other similar industries, and, if so, why? He answers the first question in the affirmative chiefly on the ground that agriculture is generally reputed to be depressed and that certain writers in magazine articles whom he quotes have proved to his satisfaction that rents in all the older sections of the country have universally declined. His answer to the second question seems to be that protection, inequitable taxation of real estate, foreign tariffs, the crisis of 1893 and the subsequent general industrial depression, and changes in our facilities for transportation have almost certainly contributed to the farmer's difficulties; that overproduction of agricultural staples is a probable and the appreciation of gold a possible cause of depression; and that farm mortgages have no bearing on the question except in so far as appreciation is a factor in the situation. On no one of these points has Mr. Coutts discussed all the pertinent facts, which other people have collected, or attempted to reveal any new facts. Whatever the reader may think of his reasoning,—and with some exceptions it is clear and tolerably convincing,—he can scarcely avoid a feeling of disappointment that the subject had not been handled in a different fashion.

Agriculture in the United States has too long been treated in a superficial and dilettante fashion by economic students, professors and historians. No one has yet published the results of a thorough and comprehensive investigation into our agricultural history and conditions, and consequently no one, as yet, knows much about them. It is high time that economic students in our great universities were set to work digging for facts in this important and attractive field. What we need is an accurate and detailed investigation into the economic history of the different agricultural sections of our country, an investigation which shall make scientific use of all possible sources of information, and which shall eventually reveal to us the actual facts regarding the changes and vicissitudes in the fortunes of farmers in all parts of the country. Until such investigations have been made and their results published no one will be able to answer with any satisfaction or profit the questions which Mr. Coutts has propounded in his monograph.

WM. A. SCOTT.

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*A Handbook of Greek Constitutional History.* By A. H. J. GREENIDGE, M. A. Pp. 276. Price, \$1.25. London and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1896.

The student of Greek history is fortunate in the number of serviceable books at his disposal. Greece has held such sway over the minds of scholars, that almost every phase of Greek history has been eagerly investigated. A few years ago, however, the discovery of the "Constitution of Athens" threw light upon many subjects and caused some questions to be reopened. The result was a mass of writing which is usable only by the specialist. In the light of this new material, Mr. Greenidge has now put into scholarly form and moderate compass the more important facts about Greek constitutional history. His aim is "to pay more attention to the working than to the mere structure of constitutions."

After defining the terms he must use, he traces the early development of the constitutions and certain general tendencies exemplified in colonization and the growth of international law among the Greeks. Then follow chapters on the different constitutions, classed as oligarchies, mixed constitutions, and democracies. Of these, the last is the longest, and the most interesting, as it is devoted chiefly to Athens. The volume ends with short chapters on federal governments, and "Hellenism and the fate of the Greek constitutions."

The work is done conscientiously and will take rank as the most useful outline yet written. The author has avoided two pitfalls into which many predecessors have fallen; we refer to the exaggerated estimate of the importance of individuals in Greek history, and to the tendency to treat the utterances of philosophers as if their theorizing represented the actual working of constitutions. We have but one criticism to make; the matter is so closely packed that the book is in parts difficult to read. But even when most difficult to read, it repays careful study.

The volume is supplied with a select bibliography—in which we think Holm's history should be mentioned—with indices of subjects, Greek words, and Greek authorities, and with a political map of Greece about 430 B. C.

DANA C. MUNRO.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

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*American History told by Contemporaries.* Volume I, *Era of Colonization, 1492-1689.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Pp. xviii, 606. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

This work essays no easy task. It attempts: "First, to put within convenient reach of schools, libraries and scholars authoritative texts

of rare or quaint writings in American history, contemporary with the events which they describe; and, in the second place, to give, in a succession of scenes, a notion of the movement and connection of the history of America, so that from this work by itself may be had an impression of the forces which have shaped our history, and the problems upon which they have worked." This scheme is so pretentious, the difficulties in the way of its successful accomplishment are so obvious that we open the book with no great confidence. It may prove spicy and interesting, but will it be fair and true? These scraps of history may give many a pleasing sidelight, but must not the price be a loss of all right perspective? Yet in spite of obstacles and in the face of such apprehensions this work attains a distinct and most welcome success.

In such a compilation of the sources of history the cardinal virtues must be accuracy, clearness and balance. The first of these is attained by the utmost care in selecting the earliest or most authoritative text available, and by the painstaking collation of the extract with the original. For the clear and logical organization of material Professor Hart possesses talent of no ordinary degree. At his touch materials the most diverse seem of their own accord to fall into order. At times, to be sure, the order seems a bit too formal, the classification a little too clean-cut. Is mention made of "the offices of sources of history,"—they are straightway grouped as three, and properly ticketed. History, too, has "its threefold office;" libraries, their "triple object." In each of these instances the generalization is suggestive, but its very readiness and simplicity arouses a slight protest against such persistent "trinitarianism." Certainly not less essential than accuracy of quotation and clearness of presentation, is balance or sense of proportion. Historical study must not merely be grounded upon contemporary evidence; that evidence must be weighed, appraised at its true value, seen in its proper perspective. History is perverted none the less by a one-sided contemporary view than by an ill-grounded modern conclusion. How carefully balance is preserved in this work will be discussed later.

Part I is devoted to a "Practical Introduction" for teachers, libraries, and students. It discusses the sources of history, and their educative value, and classifies the sources upon the general topic of colonization, giving a brief descriptive bibliography of the material most available to students. Under "Use of Sources" is found a vast deal of suggestion as to the search for sources, and their use by "teachers, pupils, students and investigators, readers and librarians." The advice and cautions given are excellent and the brief critical list of secondary authorities well chosen and for the

most part fair-minded. To this list there is already to be added John Fiske's "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors." Part II is concerned with "Discovery and Early Voyages." In Part III "Conditions of Colonization" are presented in a series of extracts showing the causes of colonization, the regulations and restrictions under which it was carried on and the diverse character of the emigrants. Parts IV, V, and VI, are devoted to the Southern Colonies, New England and the Middle Colonies, respectively. The extracts vary in length from a dozen lines to ten pages, the average length being about four pages. For ease of reference the extracts are numbered consecutively; the dates of the events described, of the writing and of the translation of each document are given together with the briefest of notes in regard to the writer, followed by a few bibliographical references, for the most part to Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History" and to the "Guide to the Study of American History," recently edited by Professors Channing and Hart. At the end of each selection is clear reference by page, volume and edition to the source from which it has been taken. The minuteness with which the material is indexed adds greatly to the serviceableness of the volume.

The worker in mosaic is far more at the mercy of intractable materials than is the painter or even the sculptor. How successfully the editor has accomplished the more difficult part of the task here attempted, viz., "to give in a succession of scenes a notion of the movement and connection of the history of America," can be appreciated only after studying the sequence of extracts under a given topic. For example, under "Norse and Spanish Discoveries" is found first a selection from the Sagas which narrate the Norse discovery of Greenland and of Wineland the Good. Next from the Journal of Columbus as abridged by Las Casas, comes the account of those eventful days from the tenth to the fourteenth of October, 1492. This is fittingly followed by Eden's translation from the Latin into Black-letter English of the quaintest and crabbedest sort of the famous Bull by which Pope Alexander VI., "of oure owne mere liberalitie and certeyne science, and by the fulnesse of apostolycall power" did divide the new world between the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The letter of Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella describing his fourth voyage is of great interest not only as throwing light upon the character of Columbus and his relations to the Spanish Court, but also as evidencing the all-consuming thirst for gold which joined so strangely with missionary zeal in motivating the voyages of discovery. From Martin Waltsee-Müller's "*Cosmographie Interductio*" is translated the brief passage in which America is first suggested as a fitting name for "the fourth part of

the world." The pens of Pizarro and of Gomara, the chaplain of Cortes, present the most dramatic episodes in the conquest of Peru and of Mexico. De Soto's expedition from the ocean to the Mississippi, and the first exploration of the Kansas-Nebraska region are described by eye-witnesses, and Miles Philips' account of experiences in Mexico in the middle of the sixteenth century brings this chapter to a fitting close.

Especially successful is the section which deals with the conditions of emigration, although with but a single exception the selections are here made from English writers. The colonization movement is closely integrated with the history of England. The manifold advantages of colonization are set forth forcibly, though perhaps not disinterestedly by Sir George Peckham, the partner in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's ventures. Hostility to Spain as a motive for colonizing is discussed in the spicy pages from Haklyt's "Discourse on Western Planting," while the Separatists' reasons for leaving England and seeking homes in the New World are made clear by Bradford.

Great discrimination and fairness has been shown in so selecting and grouping the extracts as to present diverse points of view. Some one has said that "Boston has ever been the centre of conscious morality." Our New England forefathers never wavered in the belief that they were the salt of the earth. Hence it is salutary for a reader of Puritan descent to have brought to his notice not only the straightforward narratives of the founders of New England, but also Thomas Lechford's acrid "Note of what Things I Misliked in the Country," the account of Mrs. Hutchinson's trial, and a Dutch opinion of the New England character from the pen of Governor Keift—an opinion to be compared with that entertained of the Dutch by the commissioners of the New England Confederation.

To the student and teacher, especially when remote from the few choice historical libraries, this book will prove a great boon. Nor will it prove less satisfactory to the general reader of history. A taste of sources is stimulating; it can hardly fail to create a craving for more. The reader who is here for the first time introduced to the varied and fascinating sources of our colonial history will long to browse in Haklyt and Smith, to follow the fortunes of the fathers of New England in the modest but inspiring records left us by Bradford and Winthrop, to get the Jesuit "Relations" into his own hands, and see what use has been made of them by such an artist as Parkman. Not only will these extracts themselves lead to a truer understanding of our colonial beginnings, but by the display of



these captivating samples the demand for and use of the unabridged originals cannot fail to be greatly stimulated.

The present volume is one of a projected series, intended to cover the broad range of American history from the earliest discoveries to the present time. The later volumes are to be: Vol. II, "Building of the Republic," 1689-1783; Vol. III, "National Expansion," 1783-1844; Vol. IV, "Welding of the Nation, 1845-1897. How will the later volumes read? To what extent is the success of the present one due to the vast variety of its material and its remoteness from our present-day life and habits of thought? If the succeeding volumes maintain the standard here established it will be no disparagement to any of Professor Hart's previous work to say that in this splendidly edited series of sources he has rendered his greatest service to the study of American history.

GEORGE H. HAYNES.

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*Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution.* By CHARLES DOWNES HAZEN. Pp. x, 315. Price, \$2.00. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1897.

At no time in American history have domestic politics been more influenced by foreign happenings than during the period of the French Revolution. Following our own struggle for independence, the movement in France aroused a sympathetic interest which could hardly have been greater had that nation been our next door neighbor instead of being separated from us by the Atlantic Ocean. Was her revolution similar to our own? Were its leaders entitled to American sympathy? If European war should follow, was America bound to aid France? Such were the questions demanding answers from our statesmen, and it was upon lines suggested by these questions that political parties divided. Professor Hazen, in the book before us, undertakes to show by quotations from their writings the attitude of leading contemporary Americans toward French conditions and politics as the revolution passed through its successive stages.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first the author acquaints us with the opinions of our official representatives at Paris, and in the second he introduces the sentiments prevalent among Federalists and Republicans in America. Of our three ministers to France from 1787 to 1797, Monroe seems to have been most hopeful for the future of the French Republic and most prejudiced

in its favor. Jefferson, our representative before 1789, had considerable faith in the genius of the French people and little fear of the future, although the practical statesman is seen in his advice to go slowly. Morris alone realized the gravity of the situation, and in 1789, at the very beginning of his mission, saw "a nation which exists in hopes, prospects and expectations, the reverence for ancient establishments gone, existing forms shaken to the foundation and a new order of things about to take place in which perhaps even to the very names, all former institutions will be disregarded." He was amazed at the rapidity with which changes were being accomplished. "Stay where you are a little while and when you come back you will hardly know your country," he writes to the French ambassador at London, and his other writings were in a similar strain. Jefferson, indeed, had prophesied certain changes, but he believed that they would come from the government rather than from the people. The latter had not the capacity for a rapid advance unless driven to it by famine—an unlikely event—but from Brienne much might be expected. Of Necker he had a poorer opinion, and hence on the very eve of his departure in 1789 Jefferson saw no indication of great or immediate changes.

If Jefferson's prophecies have little value his descriptions are more worthy of notice. He traveled quite extensively in France, and his testimony indicates no such harsh conditions among the peasantry as have been pictured by some other writers. The laboring class was not as well off as in England, but was better situated than in Italy. Although meat was rarely used, Jefferson found no lack of nourishing food among the lower classes. He was sorry that judicial privileges were not more extended and yet doubted whether the people were prepared for that great bulwark of liberty, trial by jury. He expected that a series of reforms would be introduced by the government, and the condition of the nation thus gradually improved.

Morris had no such confidence in the government. With keen judgment he prophesied a despotism as the probable result of the confusion prevailing in 1789, but in spite of this drawback he expected that ultimately much good would result. Of the constitution of '91, so favorably received in America, he wrote, "The Almighty himself could not make it succeed without creating a new species of man." He had not that sympathy with the ideal which was noticeable in Jefferson and so prominent in Monroe, hence it is possible he did not appreciate the spirit of the times as they did, but for a critical view of the earlier legislation and a keen estimate of the more prominent leaders the writings of Morris are unsurpassed.

On this side of the Atlantic there was at first an overwhelming sentiment in favor of the revolutionary movement. Democratic societies rapidly sprang up, whose promoters, influenced by the wave of excitement, proposed to see in America herself a movement toward monarchy and aristocracy which it was their duty to combat. It is interesting to follow this sentiment by means of the large number of quotations and selections which Professor Hazen supplies, and to watch on the one hand the Republicans finding excuses for the increasing disturbance in France, while Federalists like John Adams and Knox grew more and more disgusted. This indeed is the great merit of the book before us. Historians of the United States have often described the feelings aroused in this country by the French Revolution; it has remained for Professor Hazen to place before us the materials on which these descriptions are based. In this way a great service has been done to those of us who have not access to the original writings and who yet desire to read the opinions of contemporary Americans at home and abroad. The selections given are extensive and are accompanied by suggestive comments by the author. There is also a bibliography of his sources of information, and while we must confess that some of the selections given are tiresome reading this in no way interferes with the value of the book as a work of reference.

C. H. LINCOLN.

*Philadelphia.*

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*English Local Government of To-Day.* By MILO R. MALTBY, Ph. D. Columbia University Studies. Vol. IX, No. 1. Pp. 287. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897.

The local organization of England has undergone such important changes during the present century that this careful study of the existing system of local administration in England meets an urgent need. As was pointed out in a previous number of the ANNALS,\* the old system of local autonomy has been essentially modified by the introduction of a strong and far-reaching central control so that the English organization now presents certain important points of similarity with the systems in vogue on the Continent. In the monograph under review, Dr. Maltby traces the growth and extension of this new central control and makes a critical examination of its results as compared with those of the old method of organization. Beginning with the new poor-law administration organized in 1834

\* "Administrative Centralization and Decentralization in England." ANNALS, Vol. x, p. 187. September, 1897.

and considering successively the administration of the laws regulating health, police and elementary education, the author makes it clear why a central control became necessary and how this control has been exercised, first, by the legislative, and later by the administrative authorities. Local independence, in each of these branches of administrative activity, had resulted unfavorably, owing to the absence of a harmonious plan, a great waste of energy and corresponding loss in efficiency. The establishment of a central administrative control has produced uniformity, economy and a considerable increase in efficiency. In addition there has been of recent years a decided improvement in the legislative treatment of local organization. Formerly, special or local acts altering the organization of particular local bodies were frequent and, in many cases, injudicious. Under the new system such special bills are submitted to the approval of the central Local Government Board, and the latter, by virtue of its superior insight and experience, exercises a highly beneficial influence on the character of such legislation. The practice of issuing "provisional orders," *i.e.*, permission granted by the Local Government Board and approved by Parliament to make some change in the organization of particular local bodies, has also proved to be an excellent one. As to the relative advantages of a control exercised by Parliament over the local organization and one exercised by the Local Government Board the author declares decidedly in favor of the latter, that is, the administrative control. No legislative body can secure the required information nor exercise the same constant and continuous supervision that may easily be maintained by a permanently organized administrative body. Such are the general conclusions drawn by the author, and they are substantiated by such a thorough study of the period since 1834 that they may be regarded as entirely trustworthy.

It is perhaps to be regretted that the subject of *local* government has been treated almost exclusively from the standpoint of the *central* authorities and that so little attention has been paid to the local side of the new organization. It is also true that the author has restricted himself somewhat severely to the administrative side of the question and has not devoted any considerable attention to the political aspects of the present system. These defects, however, do not detract from the value of the author's conclusions. His treatment of the general theory of administrative control is admirable and the work taken as a whole forms a valuable description of the existing relations between the local and the central administrative organs in England.

JAMES T. YOUNG.

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*Die Eisenbahnreform in Württemberg.* By A. MÜLBERGER. Tübingen: Laupp'schen Buchhandlung. 1896.

This book consists of a series of articles upon the railways of Württemberg, written for the *Beobachter* during the years 1894 to 1896. Even in the present form of the essays, traces of their newspaper origin are preserved in the popular style, as well as in a certain fragmentary character and lack of cohesion. But in no other sense are they journalistic. The work of Dr. Mülberger is careful, conscientious and original; he reveals a firm grasp of the economic principles underlying railway policy, while displaying a knowledge of the practical working of a railroad, seldom found outside the administrative bureaus.

The introductory chapter, in which a short sketch of the historical development of the Württemberg railways is given, is not original, being avowedly based upon the prior investigations of Jakob, Fraas and others, but it is interesting, not only historically, but because of the light it throws upon modern problems. In Württemberg, as in other parts of the continent, railways were originally looked upon with considerable distrust, and it required weeks of earnest, not to say anxious, discussion before the first railway law of April 18, 1843, passed the chamber. During a dozen years, this distrust survived, despite the almost immediate success achieved by the important line from Heilbronn to Stuttgart and Ulm. A revolution of feeling followed, and in the period from 1855 to 1865, the "golden era" of the Württemberg state railways, the chamber no longer waited for the government, but itself took the initiative in proposing the construction of new railways. As the country was gradually opened, railroads became more and more profitable, the inevitable "mania" more virulent, and construction progressed unchecked, even during the French war. But the new roads ate into the profits of the old, and returns upon invested capital sank from 6.39 per cent in 1862 to 3.11 per cent in 1871. No halt was called. Even after 1873 the cry was still for more railroads, especially from districts hitherto unprovided with them. Construction continued, local narrow gauge roads were laid out, and a new era of lavish expenditure was inaugurated, from the effects of which the railways of Württemberg have not yet recovered. According to a recent report (for 1894-95) the Württemberg railways compare unfavorably in almost all respects with those of the other German states.

Dr. Mülberger believes the organization of the railways to be fundamentally wrong, and attributes their uneconomic management to a preference for half measures and unreasoning concessions to separate interests, instead of attempts at thorough systematic reform.



An example of this preference is shown in the passenger fares, which in Württemberg, as throughout Germany, are in a chaotic state. Reduced rates have been granted on every imaginable occasion and for all sorts of reasons, until the normal kilometric rates threaten to become as obsolete as the old "maximal tariffs." The author is a staunch adherent of the policy of radically reducing passenger fares, which will enable many to travel by rail, who at present must use the roads, but at the same time he maintains that low fares would be ruinous unless accompanied by a complete alteration of the passenger policy of the railways. He is an ardent advocate of local railways, believing that the railroad must form the centre of the transportation system, and holding that the capital annually invested in roads might better be applied to the construction of local railways. The local passenger traffic should no longer be considered as subsidiary to the through traffic, but its practical independence should be secured by a greater decentralization in management and by the erection of local advisory railway boards, which could adapt the policy of the line to the needs of the local community. In various parts of his book Mülberger urges the abolition of the first and the limitation of the second class traffic on local lines, the encouragement of this business by low fares and more convenient trains and the despatch of through traffic by more rapid trains. In a witty chapter upon the "*Bummelzug*," "a physiological monstrosity, that is neither fish, fowl, nor flesh, but belongs to the creeping creatures," Dr. Mülberger points out the wastefulness of slow accommodation trains for long distances, and adduces this policy as another cause for the small extent to which the use of the railway has become general among the common people of Württemberg.

A series of chapters in the book is devoted to a history of the early debates in the chamber on the right of the legislative, or of the administrative body to fix rates on state railways and the discussion as to whether such rates may be considered as taxes. In another chapter the author draws up a plan for an ideal organization of the local passenger traffic (taking Crailsheim as a centre) in which very cheap fares, a zone tariff and "postage stamp tickets" are advocated, but it is impossible to judge of the merits of this scheme, without more detailed knowledge of the conditions than we possess. There is also a series of chapters upon the relation between railway rates and the industrial organization, and Mülberger maintains that the improvement "in our railway policy is the first and most important step in the way of definite, well-planned social reform."

There are many other points raised by Dr. Mülberger which would merit discussion, if space permitted. While certain lines of policy are advocated, upon the advisability of which we must differ with the author, the book as a whole is a valuable contribution to the study of railway policy, and may be heartily recommended not only to those interested in German railroads, but to all students of transportation.

WALTER E. WEYL.

Philadelphia.

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*State Control of Trade and Commerce by National or State Authority.*

By ALBERT STICKNEY. Pp. xiv, 202. New York: Baker, Voorhis & Co., 1897.

It is not often that a strictly legal work calls for notice in the *ANNALS*, but Mr. Stickney's subject lies as much in the fields of economics and political science as it does in the domain of law. The corporate organization of industry has necessitated such a degree of state interference in industrial matters that the student of economic phenomena is perforce obliged to become a student of a large body of law. The problems of state regulation and state control of industry have become more instead of less complicated and fundamental with the evolution of the corporation. Indeed, the corporate organization of industry is compelling economists to recast their theories of production and distribution and requiring political scientists to revise their notions of the functions of the state. This being the case, it becomes extremely desirable that workers in the economic and political sciences should know clearly the spirit and scope of existing laws regarding the state control of trade and commerce.

Mr. Stickney has very successfully depicted the course of English and American law concerning the state control of private and public employments. The contrast between private and public employments is sharply drawn, and chapters are given to the control of each class of employments in England as well as in America. In each of these four chapters the leading statutes are quoted in full or in part, and the more important judicial decisions interpreting the statutes are critically considered. Chapter V discusses the "recent decisions as to contracts in restraint of trade or commerce," the two important decisions considered being that in the New York case, *People vs. Sheldon*, and that in the United States *vs. Trans-Missouri Freight Association*. In the closing chapter of the book the author endeavors to prove that "combinations formed to prevent

competition among the combining parties, or to raise prices [do not] work any substantial damage to the public."

The book was written to prove the thesis that the "recent decisions of our highest tribunals, especially the United States Supreme Court and the New York Court of Appeals, holding that a mere combination of carriers, or of private property owners, providing for the fixing of rates and prices for their own property, by one common authority for all, constitutes a crime, are . . . at variance with the tendencies and growth of English and American law, and . . . in conflict with the fundamental principles of the law of property under a modern constitutional government." It seems to me that the author has proved a part of his thesis, but has failed to establish his thesis as a whole. In his admirable analysis of the course of English and American law as to the control of industry, Mr. Stickney proves conclusively that recent decisions have given a new meaning to the term "contracts in restraint of trade." There is no doubt that the New York Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court have regarded "contracts in restraint of trade" differently than they were treated in previous decisions, and that they have thereby made new law. The author has proved that much of his thesis.

Precedent, however, is not all decisive even in law. The courts may have taken the stand they did in *People vs. Sheldon* and *United States vs. Trans-Missouri Freight Association* because they erred in their interpretation of the legal principles involved, as Mr. Stickney maintains; or the decision may have been reached because economic and social conditions have so changed that legislation concerning the state regulation of industry in the present decade means something different from what it meant five hundred or even one hundred years ago. It is possible that a judicial interpretation of very recent laws that is consonant with existing economic and social conditions will not tally in form, at least, with previous decisions reached when those conditions were very different. Mr. Stickney's argument is based strictly on legal precedent, and he takes little or no account of the influences exerted by industrial and social changes. Indeed, he denies that those changes may properly modify in any way the attitude of the state toward the control of private employments.

Mr. Stickney is not an extreme individualist, for he justifies the recent extension of the state control to public employments. "Public control with these properties," he says, "has taken the form of control, both of the use of the properties, and of the prices of such use. Such control is a necessity. It is recognized as such

by all competent judges. It has its legitimate province and its legitimate limitations. It appears to be increasing rather than decreasing. The reason is that the public necessities demand such increase." The validity of these views will hardly be questioned. Furthermore, the author is to be commended for the accuracy with which he points out the fundamental differences between public and private employments, and he is correct when he asserts that a recognition of those differences "lies at the bottom of all sound legislation for the regulation of properties and employments of all kinds." Mr. Stickney errs in pushing a sound principle too far. Neither lawyers nor economists will accept the following views as accurate: "Experience shows that in its contest with capital, labor is well able to take care of itself. We need have no fears for its future. . . . Neither will it in the long run get more than its just dues. Each can well take care of itself. Each is fully protected by the industrial laws." I question whether "the 'genius of our institutions' is overwhelmingly in favor of emancipation from all restrictions on complete contractual freedom—in private employments."

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

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*System der nationalen Schutzpolitik nach Aussen.* By Dr. JOHANNES WERNICKE. Pp. 340. Price, 6m. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1896.

The term "national protection" has a much more extended meaning in Germany than in the United States, and it is protection in its widest sense that is treated in the work under review. The ten chapters into which the book is divided take up subjects as diverse as tariffs and immigration, railroad charges and the standard of value. The standpoint of the author is that of extreme protectionism which savors at times of old-time mercantilism. The ideal economic policy is described as one that encourages in every possible way the home production of all kinds of commodities. This ideal possesses a political as well as an economic side. The government should encourage exports rather than imports, and it is preferable that money should show a tendency toward in-flowing rather than out-flowing. Free trade is a thing of the past. As it exists in England it is a one-sided protection, favoring the industrial classes at the expense of agriculture. The foundations of a state rest upon a protection of the weaker against the stronger, and upon a policy which develops not only manufacturing but also agriculture.

Coming to particular questions, the author believes that no invariable rule can be laid down as to the rate of a tariff. In order to avoid the evil effects of price fluctuations, he thinks it advisable that commercial treaties in the future allow for a rise or fall in tariffs corresponding to the rise and fall in prices. In the discussion of the "most favored nation clause," the question of its abolition, so far as the United States is concerned, is mooted. While export premiums are justifiable, their complexity as regards the one article of sugar, on which in Europe not only direct but indirect bounties are paid, leads the writer to recommend their abolition. This recommendation, it may be added, has found many supporters in Germany of late, who look upon such a measure as the most practical way of meeting the "bounty clause" in the Dingley bill.

In the United States there is more or less criticism regarding our consular service, and it cannot be said that this criticism is without foundation. Some two years since, the reviewer spent an afternoon in the House of Commons when the English consular service was under discussion. The general trend of the speeches delivered was to the effect that the English service was poor while the German was in every respect excellent. In this connection it is interesting to note that our author declares that the preparation of German consuls is entirely inadequate. They are for the most part lawyers and bureaucrats with no special fitness for their work. The contents of their reports are in the highest degree stale (*dürftig*). "The French and Belgian consuls, as well as the Italian, Swiss, and pre-eminently the consuls of the United States, are much more in touch (than the German) with the industrial and commercial circles of their own countries."

In dealing with the subject of colonization the author devotes much space to a plea for a more energetic colonial policy in Germany, as the following paragraph bears witness: "Since 1815 the population of Germany has doubled. Have the enemies of colonization ever made clear what will be the outcome of such a state of affairs? It is lamentable that the German sleeping-gown Philister is not yet always able to open his eyes and look out over the boundary of Germany. What a pity that we cannot let such people sail around the earth for a couple of years at public expense! Then would they comprehend what is the matter with us and what it is necessary to do."

The author considers in detail the subject of a value standard. For undeveloped countries silver is an adequate standard but for civilized countries gold is the necessary standard. From the



"gold" standpoint the subject is well presented and the conclusions arrived at are, for the most part, based upon interesting and valuable statistical material. In Chapter VIII, the author deals almost exclusively with the amount and kinds of money in Germany and the means of maintaining the gold reserve, while Chapter IX is devoted to various measures of Agrarian protection in the Fatherland. In 1896 the Agrarians succeeded in passing a law prohibiting dealings in grain options (*Getreideterminhandel*) believing such operations tended to depress the price of grain. Following the passage of this law the grain prices showed a marked downward tendency, and during the present season the general advance in prices seems to have operated less favorably for Germany than for any other country. The author's conclusion is that while a reform in the methods of *Getreideterminhandel* was advisable, its abolition was uncalled for. The absurdities of the proposition of Count Kanitz whereby the government was to buy up and offer for sale at a fixed price (average price for 1850-90) all grain which was allowed to be imported, are clearly brought to light by the author. The division of the book is not altogether proportional; for example, Chapters VII, VIII and IX occupy nearly two-thirds of the whole book, and subjects, whose careful exposition would, at least for American readers, be of great interest and value, are contracted in a way that renders them very unsatisfactory. To American readers, the most interesting feature of the work under review is its attempt to outline a comprehensive and aggressive governmental policy in direct opposition to the maxim of *laissez-faire* which still has such a strong hold on the American as well as the English mind. Here is no hint of governmental incapacity to deal with the most complicated industrial problems. It is assumed that the government will be as wise and as energetic as the most enlightened statesmen entrusted with the guidance of governmental policy, and the author's only concern is to determine what line of action is dictated by considerations of social expediency in connection with the various problems he considers.

GEORGE M. FISK.

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## MISCELLANY.

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### THIRD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY, HELD AT PARIS, JULY 21-24, 1897.

After holding at Paris its first two congresses in 1894 and 1895, the International Institute of Sociology decided not to hold a reunion in 1896, in order not to discourage its members by demanding of them too great an effort to sustain these gatherings, and in order to insure the greater success of the congress which it was proposed to hold in 1897. Subsequent events proved the wisdom of this decision, because the reunion which has just been held has been productive of the most happy results. From the moment of its opening the congress was pronounced a singular success. It was held at the Sorbonne. In accordance with the hospitable permission of the eminent authorities of the University, a hall of the Faculty of Science was placed at our disposal, and we had the honor of assembling in a place made sacred by the glorious traditions of scientific research and of higher education.

The President of the International Institute of Sociology for 1897, M. Paul de Lilienfeld, Senator of the Russian Empire, came from St. Petersburg in order to preside at the congress. He opened the session on Wednesday, July 21, at three o'clock in the afternoon. Seated around him on the platform were M. A. Espinas, Vice-President of the International Institute; MM. J. Novicow and G. Tarde, former vice-presidents, and the General Secretary. Twenty-one members or associates of the Institute were present. They were, besides those already named, MM. R. Garofalo, N. Karéief, Achille Loria, L. Manouvrier, C. N. Starcke, L. Stein, S. R. Steinmetz and Émile Worms, members; and MM. O. d'Araujo, A. Bonnet, Ad. Coste, H. Decugis, C. de Krauz, Alfred Lambert, Ch. Limousin and H. Monin, associates. Besides these, MM. Fr. Giner de los Rios, Vice-President; P. Dórado and Lester Ward, members; F. Puglia and R. de la Grasserie, associates of the Institute, sent written communications. About one hundred and fifty persons, of whom many were members of various learned societies and a certain number students, attended the first session.

This session comprised in the first place, following the usage of each congress, the opening address by the President and a reply by the General Secretary. Then, M. Ludwig Stein, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Berne, read an article treating of the definition of sociology. In conclusion, M. le Baron R. Garofalo, chief of the legislative department in the Italian Ministry of Justice, gave a résumé of a study entitled "The Individual Brain and the Social Brain," which was vigorously discussed by MM. Limousin, de Krauz, Monin, Tarde, Novicow and the author of the paper.

On the following morning, July 22, at nine o'clock, the two most extensive papers submitted to the congress were read. One, presented in the name of M. Lester Ward, of the Columbian University of Washington, was entitled "Pain and Pleasure Economy," which called forth remarks from MM. Novicow and Espinas. The other related to "The Sociological Importance of Economic Studies of the Colonies," and was presented by M. Achille Loria, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Padua. This paper was discussed by MM. René Worms, Monin, Steinmetz, to whom M. Loria replied.

In the afternoon of the same day, at two o'clock, a debate was opened on a topic which was expected to be the chief theme of the congress: "The Organic Theory of Society." One fact is worthy of remark; instantly this question assumed unexpected dimensions. At our first congress, each speaker was at liberty to choose his topic; at the second, five principal topics of discussion were fixed in advance; for the third, the same liberty as obtained at the first congress was granted. But it was found that in the natural tendency of things the discussions were brought to bear on one central point. From the first day the papers and speeches constantly brought up for examination the organic theory. It commenced officially Thursday evening. M. J. Novicow from Odessa read a paper favoring this theory. Following this there was a paper by the President, M. de Lilienfeld, who based on the same principles a system of graphical representation of social phenomena. M. G. Tarde attacked the conclusions of his two colleagues, and presented in opposition to the organic theory a psychological theory of social life. These various speakers having held the attention of those present during the four hours' session, a continuation of the discussion was placed on the program for the following afternoon.

Friday, July 23, at two o'clock in the afternoon, M. le Baron Casimir de Krauz attacked the organic theory and defended as opposed to it a theory of economic materialism. M. L. Stein agreed with the critics

of the organic theory and presented the principles of the historic and psychogenetic method of research. The present writer, on the contrary, tried to show something of the exactness and utility of the analogy between organisms and society. M. S. R. Steinmetz, Privatdozent at the University of Utrecht, vigorously opposed this analogy. M. C. N. Starcke, Privatdozent at the University of Copenhagen; M. le Baron Garofalo, M. Ch. Limousin each in turn made various reservations in their acceptance of the organic theory. M. N. Karéief, Professor at the University of St. Petersburg, showed that this theory shared, together with Darwin's social theory, economic materialism and social psychic theories, the fate of all exclusive theories. Professor Espinas, of the Sorbonne, said that in order to solve the question it was necessary to make a distinction between organisms in general and *blastodèmes*, living beings which possess vascular communication between their parts. Societies are not *blastodèmes*; but it is necessary to maintain that they constitute organisms if one does not wish to abandon altogether the idea of social life and social laws. Following MM. Tarde, de Krauz and Stein, M. Novicow again took up the discussion and endeavored to show that the arguments of his adversaries had not undermined his conviction in favor of the organic theory.

This memorable debate was closed after having occupied two afternoons, in which the ardor of the vigorous champions of diverse doctrines had been uninterruptedly sustained by the rare attention of a remarkably well informed and serious audience. We can say truly that the most widely varying opinions were freely expressed and brought forward by representatives well authorized to speak for the different points of view. Without doubt it is not possible to propose a solution which will find acceptance on all sides, but at least this collection of ideas and opinions constitutes the most complete discussion which exists on this question, and henceforth anyone who wishes to treat the problem profoundly in its different aspects will have to consult the volume which will appear containing these proceedings.

In order to give a consecutive account of this controversial debate we omitted to speak of a session which intervened, namely, that of Friday morning, the twenty-third of July. Three technical papers were read; one by M. Starcke, upon "The Laws of Political Evolution;" the second by M. Steinmetz, upon "Corollary Selection;" the last by M. Raoul de la Grasserie, upon "The Evolution of the Idea of Monarchy."

Saturday, July 24, was the last day of the congress. Its two sessions were well attended. In the morning we listened to a report

by M. Pedro Dorado, Professor of Criminal Law at the University of Salamanca, treating of the future mission of criminal justice. This paper was discussed by MM. F. Puglia, René Worms, de Krauz, Novicow, de Lilienfeld, d'Araujo and Espinas. Following this there was a communication from M. Alfred Lambert upon "The Social Obligation for Relief," which called forth some discussion from MM. Emile Worms, Limousin, Stein, and a reply by the author.

In the afternoon we listened to a paper on "Experiment in Sociology" and to a résumé of several other papers which were not presented by the authors in person. After a few closing remarks by the General Secretary and the President the congress was declared closed. A business session of the officers of the Institute was held immediately after, at which time it was decided to hold a congress in Paris in 1900, and to empower the Executive Committee to convoke another congress in the meantime in some other city if circumstances seem to demand it. The election of members for the executive committees for the succeeding years was then provided for and it was decided that at the next congress two main questions would be submitted for discussion, namely, the question of the clan, and, secondly, of economic materialism. Some minor changes were made in the organization of the Institute and some new associates of the Institute were elected.

Such was then in brief the third congress. An eminent Russian sociologist who had been present at the two preceding congresses, M. Novicow, said that in his opinion it was the most animated and brilliant of the three. We have been able in this brief and impersonal report only to mention the names of the speakers and the subjects of their papers. Within a few months the fourth volume of the Annals of the International Institute of Sociology, which will contain the papers and discussions of this congress, will be issued, and we hope in this way that those who were not able to be present at the congress will be able to share in its results and will be convinced of the fact that its labors have contributed to the advancement of social science.

RÉNÉ WORMS.

*Paris.*

(Translated by Samuel McCune Lindsay.)



## NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

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**New York.—Civil Service.** The decision of the New York Court of Appeals interpreting the constitutional provision requiring competitive examinations wherever practicable for all positions to the civil service, state and local, must be regarded as a severe setback to the advancement of civil service reform. In reversing the decision of the Supreme Court and the unanimous decision of the Appellate Division, the Court of Appeals has laid itself open to much criticism. The case in question, arose through a suit brought by Simeon B. Chittenden and other citizens of Brooklyn against the mayor, comptroller and other fiscal officers, to restrain payment of salary to certain employees who had been appointed since the first of January, 1895. The plaintiffs contended that these positions came within the constitutional rule requiring competitive examinations.

Justice Keogh of the Supreme Court decided in favor of the plaintiffs. An appeal was taken to the Appellate Division, in which the opinion of the lower court was unanimously sustained. The decision of these two lower courts is of special interest, owing to the fact that for the first time a constitutional provision was declared to be self-executory, even in the absence of legislative enactments providing for its enforcement. "The Constitution," the court said, "is the basic and fundamental law. To this ultimate and supreme mandate of the people, declared by its delegates in convention assembled, it is the duty of all departments of the state government, executive, legislative and judicial, to bow instant obedience. It is our duty to interpret it reasonably and firmly in the questions involved in this appeal." The court goes on to cite with approval an opinion of Judge O'Brien:\* "If the legislature should repeal all the statutes and regulations on the subject of appointments in the civil service, the mandate of the Constitution would still remain and would so far execute itself as to require the courts, in a proper case, to pronounce appointments made without compliance with its requirements illegal." In its conclusion, the court states that the evidence proves that the positions under consideration were such that appointments to the same could be made on the basis of competitive examinations, and that the action of the mayor

\* *People vs. Roberts*, 13 Miscellaneous Reports, New York, 448, 91 Hunter, 101; 148 New York, 360.

of Brooklyn "in placing such positions in the non-competitive class and requiring them to be filled therefrom without competitive examination, is illegal and as such is subject to review by this court."

The Court of Appeals in reversing the decision of the lower court takes the ground that the clause in the Constitution which requires that appointments and promotions "shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained so far as practicable by examinations which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive," excludes positions of a confidential nature from the rule. The court, however, refuses to lay down any rules of distinction between confidential and non-confidential positions; that such classification must be determined either by statute or through the regulation of persons entrusted with the execution of such statute. In this case the duty of classification devolved upon the mayor of the city of Brooklyn, and in the absence of any evidence of corruption or dishonesty must be regarded as final. "It is not pretended," says the court, "that the mayor was corrupt, dishonest, or that he was actuated by improper motives in making the classification. The duty devolved upon him under the statute;\* and, until the contrary appears, we must presume that he acted conscientiously and upon his best judgment. Such a classification is not void; it may be voidable, for his action is subject to review; but until it is judicially determined that his classification was erroneous, it is a protection to subordinates and employes acting thereunder."

The eleven offices which were in question in this case were subordinate places in the finance department. The act of 1883 specifically excepted from the civil service rules those officials for whose action a superior is responsible; those holding confidential positions, and employes of educational departments. These excepted positions the court has maintained. The decision of the Appellate Department of the Supreme Court, in declaring the constitutional clause self-executory, is impliedly reversed by the Court of Appeals in these terms: "The duty rests upon the legislature and the courts to enforce the civil service provisions of the Constitution in their letter and spirit. We doubt not that at an early date the legislature will supplement the existing civil service laws by such additional enactments as will cover all the civil divisions of the state, including villages, and furnishing a complete system for carrying out the mandates of the Constitution." This means that the application of the competitive examination system is a matter for the legislature

\*That is under the civil service law enacted prior to the adoption of the constitutional amendment.

to provide, and that until such an act is passed, the constitutional clause represents a declaration of principle rather than a self-executory enactment.

*New York City Citizens' Union.\** At a recent meeting of the "committee of organization," which is the large central body of the Citizens' Union, it was decided that the Union should be organized as a permanent municipal party. A committee to report a plan for permanent organization was appointed. The general sentiment among those who were active either in the general work of the Union or in the work in assembly districts is, that organized work should be begun immediately in preparation for the next municipal election. While all the candidates of the Union for the principal offices were defeated, five or six of its candidates for the state assembly, and four or five of its candidates for the board of aldermen, were elected. In some cases the result is still in doubt; and two or three of the Union's candidates have carried their contests into the courts. These contests have shown, in a striking manner, the many serious defects in the election law, imposed upon the voters of the state by the Republican machine in 1895. It is of great importance that this law should be simplified and improved in many points before the next municipal election. The facts developed in these contests and the reports of the watchers who represented the Union at the polling places on election day, indicate that, while Tammany had a large plurality of the votes cast, the difference between the vote for Low and the vote for Van Wyck was not as great, by perhaps thirty thousand, as the difference shown on the official returns. Evidently a law under which this is possible would constitute a grave danger in the event of a very close election.

**Brooklyn.—Street Railways.** A recent decision of the Court of Appeals of New York has thrown consternation into local railway circles. It has been the practice of the railway companies to lease or rent these privileges, or a portion of them, to other companies. So far as railway connections are concerned, the state law specifies that roads may be allowed to make connections between two adjoining divisions for a distance of 1000 feet over the track of another company on payment of rental. The new constitution, however, provides in Section XVIII, Article 3, that "No law shall authorize the construction or operation of a street railroad, except upon the condition that the consent of the owners of one-half in value of the property bounded on, and the consent also of the local authorities having the control of that portion of a street or highway upon

\* Communication of James W. Pryor, Esq.

which it is proposed to construct and operate such road, be first obtained." Construing this section of the Constitution, the Court of Appeals holds that a franchise granted to one company, which has complied with all the formalities, does not permit it to grant any privileges along its line to any other company. "When the municipal authorities," says the court, "consented that the respondent might operate its road through Broadway, they do not consent that any company might operate a distinct and separate road through that street. It is not the laying of the tracks but the running of cars that constitutes the chief burden both upon the street and the property of the abutting owners. Consent to the burden of one road should, in reason, be limited to that road, with whatever increase of business it may have; but it should not be extended to as many roads as can crowd their cars into operation on that street. It would be an unreasonable construction to hold that this is what the public authorities or the private citizens intend when they consent to the building and operation of a street railroad. Instead of an advantage to the public or to those owning property on the street, which is the inducement to obtain consent, it might result in an unexpected burden upon both, without any power to prevent it, and yet with no intention to consent to it. . . . We think that when consent is given, either in behalf of the public or the abutting owners, to one company, it is for its own use and not for the use of an indefinite number of other companies, regardless of the interests of the city or of the owners of the property on the street."

The full bearing of this decision upon the operations of the various companies is at present difficult to foresee. Unless some arrangement can be made by which the formalities prescribed by the court can be complied with, it is probable that the only satisfactory solution will be in consolidation. A movement for consolidation of the four great trolley companies was begun some years ago, but failed of success. It is probable, however, that under the pressure of the present decision another effort will be made.

*Gas Works.* The Brooklyn Municipal Club, an organization composed of a number of leading citizens of that city, has just published its first bulletin dealing with corporate rights and the public, and private ownership and operation of gas plants. In this publication special attention is given to the recent lease of the Philadelphia gas works to a private corporation. The consolidation of the different Brooklyn gas companies is also described. After a period of competition between various companies, the usual result was reached, viz., that of agreement, upon which consolidation soon

followed. In November, 1895, the plan of union was formally approved by the stockholders of the seven larger companies. The details of consolidation are well described in the bulletin in the following terms: "In September of the present year the Brooklyn Union Gas Company was organized for the purpose of buying out the old companies and controlling the entire business of the city. It was to have a capital of \$15,000,000 and was to issue bonds to the same amount. The capital stock of the seven independent companies was only \$10,220,000, and their bonded debt but \$3,282,000. Of the old companies the Brooklyn had a capital of \$2,000,000; the Metropolitan, a capital of \$870,000; the Fulton-Municipal, a capital of \$2,100,000; the Citizens', a capital of \$2,000,000; the Williamsburgh, a capital of \$1,000,000; the Nassau, a capital of \$1,250,000, and the People's, a capital of \$1,000,000. The holders of the stock in these companies were to receive \$14,213,077 of the Brooklyn Union stock in return for the \$10,220,000 in stock which they held, and in addition they were to receive bonds of the new company to the amount of \$10,120,245. The remainder of the issue of \$15,000,000 was to be used in taking up the bonds of the old companies to the amount of \$3,282,000 and for other purposes, and it is believed that the difference between the stock given to the old stockholders and the total issue was given as commissions to the men who engineered the scheme. The total obligations of the old companies in the way of stock and bonds were \$13,502,000. The total obligations of the new company which has absorbed the old ones are \$30,000,000."

It is a significant fact that even with this inflated valuation the company is able to earn large profits. At the present time the stock is selling between 123 and 127, and this in spite of the fact that under the new Wray law the company has contracted with the city to reduce the price five cents each year until it reaches one dollar. The present price is \$1.20 per thousand cubic feet.

**Philadelphia.—Gas Lease.** In spite of the vigorous opposition of the various reform organizations the ordinance accepting the terms of the United Gas Improvement Company's lease has been passed by both branches of councils and approved by the mayor. The signing of the contract was postponed in order to give the organizations, and individuals opposed to the lease, an opportunity to test its validity in the courts. Bills of equity were filed by two of the competing companies, as well as a certain number of citizens interested as taxpayers, to prevent the consummation of the lease.

The petitioners claimed that the leasing of the gas works is an attempt by the city of Philadelphia to grant to the United Gas



Improvement Company an exclusive privilege within the territorial limits of the city, and, therefore, unconstitutional; that it is, furthermore, an attempt by the said city to bargain away the right of subsequent councils of the city to pass ordinances touching matters which may be required for the well being of its citizens; that in agreeing to this lease the city is, in effect, contracting not to exercise its police power. Furthermore, that the charter of the city vests the control of the gas works in the executive department, and that the lease is, therefore, contrary to the provisions of the charter and that it works a transfer of the possession of the gas works to a private corporation. Finally one of the holders of gas works bonds maintained that in parting with the works, one of the conditions of the contract for the payment of the bonds was being violated.

The decision of the court rendered on November 30, refusing to grant a preliminary injunction, holds that the matter of leasing the gas works is under the control of councils and is not a question for the court to consider. "The duties of councils in this matter are deliberative and discretionary, and their decision is not subject to the revision of the court. The manufacture of gas is not a municipal duty, but a power merely. Being therefore a power merely and not a duty, the means of exercising the power must of necessity be left to the discretion of the legislative body." Furthermore, "the maxim of the law that a delegated power cannot be delegated has no application in this case. The Philadelphia gas works is not a department of the city government. It is the private business of the City of Philadelphia and not the business of the legislature which chartered the city; hence, there is no delegation of a governmental power imposed by the legislature on the city, but merely a choice of the means of carrying on a business. The truth really is, that, having the power it has a right to select the means of exercising the power and may do so either by manufacturing and furnishing gas by its own employes, or by means of a private corporation chartered for that purpose." The court furthermore considers the objection that was raised that in parting with the gas works the city was impairing the guarantee of bondholders of the gas works. The court admits the requirement of a sinking fund for the payment of the bonds, but denies that the receipts from the gas works "were impressed with any trust so far as the collection and custody of them were concerned." The receipts from the gas works were not kept separate from other receipts of the city, and, therefore, do not become impressed with any trust or pledge until appropriation is made for this specific purpose by councils.

Immediately after the decision the mayor closed the contract with the company, which then took charge of the financial management of the works. The entire plant will be handed over on the first of January. It is probable however that the contest will be carried to the Supreme Court of the state.

*Citizens' Union.* The influence of the independent movement in New York City has already begun to make itself felt in the large cities of the United States. The most recent manifestation of this tendency is shown in the organization of an independent Citizens' Union in Philadelphia. This Union is composed of men of all shades of political opinion for the purpose of securing the nomination and election of a mayor and city officials whose only claim to office shall be fitness to fulfill the duties of the same. The Union has already effected a permanent organization upon a liberal basis, inviting people of all classes and shades of opinion to co-operate. The principles of the Union have been embodied in a platform of which the following is a summary:

First.—That civil service provisions be strictly enforced.

Second.—That the city retain the ownership and absolute control of all natural monopolies, and that no leases of city property and franchises shall be granted except for short periods.

Third.—That all contracts for municipal work be impartially awarded.

Fourth.—That a higher standard be enforced in the performance of municipal services.

Fifth.—That the election laws be revised.

Sixth.—That to attain these ends citizens must be willing to consider municipal questions and candidates on their own merits.

**Boston.\*—Unicameral City Legislature.** The referendum on the act of the General Court amending the city charter by substituting a unicameral city council for the present bicameral body resulted in the rejection of the measure by an adverse majority of more than 7000 votes. About 7000 of the voters who cast their ballot for governor did not vote on this question. Municipal reformers were divided as to the expediency of the measure. Although the change was advocated by the Municipal League, there was a difference of opinion on the question among the members of that organization.

*Street Railway Consolidation.*—The great scheme for municipal transit, making a combination of the proposed elevated railway system and the present surface system operated by the West End

\* Communication of Sylvester Baxter, Esq.

Street Railway Company, for which elaborate preparations have been in hand for several months, has been brought to a sudden and unexpected halt by the refusal of the Railroad Commission to approve the terms of the lease of the West End Company to the Boston Elevated Railroad Company. The two corporations are substantially identical, so that the lease, in effect, was a bargain of certain individuals, acting in one capacity, made with themselves acting in another capacity. The lease was disapproved on the ground that it was adverse to public interests, particularly in the guarantee of an 8 per cent annual dividend on the West End common stock and in making the lease for a term of ninety-nine years. The document in which the views of the commission were set forth at length is a strikingly strong and able one and the position taken is backed by a strong public sentiment. The feeling in favor of public ownership and operation of municipal transit services has become strong in this community.

Should the disapproval of the West End lease result in permanently blocking the plans for the proposed transit system—that is, in case the promoters of the project should not be able to gain their wishes from the General Court of 1898 and secure desired amendments to the law—the Boston Transit Commission, which is constructing the new subway and the new bridge across the Charles River between the city proper and Charlestown, is authorized to build for the city an elevated railway line between the southerly terminus of the subway and Franklin Park. After meeting the cost of the subway construction, which comes well within the original estimates there will be something like \$2,000,000 available for this purpose.

Two divisions of the new subway are now in successful operation. It more than meets public expectations. It is clean, comfortable, light and well ventilated. Local transit has been greatly expedited and the congestion of the streets that existed for years has disappeared. Much inconvenience was experienced for some weeks in consequence of the retention on the surface of several important lines that properly belonged in the subway. There was a feeling that this was a move on the part of the street-railway company to retain possession of the surface tracks whose removal had been directed by law as soon as the entire subway should be completed. The Transit Commission, however, ordered the company to remove a turnout at the Granary Burying-Ground terminal, and this speedily remedied the trouble, for it compelled the transfer of the lines in question to the subway. The entire subway system will be ready for traffic next summer.

*Public Baths.*—The novel experiment tried at Revere Beach by the Metropolitan Park Commission, in the operation of a great oceanside bathing establishment, has met with complete success. A large bath-house of a handsome architectural design was erected by the commission last summer. It contains a thousand dressing-rooms together with accommodations for checking a very large number of bicycles. Instead of leasing the concession the commission undertook the direct operation of the establishment. First-class bathing-suits of a uniform pattern are supplied and elaborate means for washing and drying these were adopted. The charge for the use of the dressing-rooms, together with bathing-suit and towel, was first set at twenty-five cents, the same charge previously made by private individuals for very inferior accommodations. There was a strong objection made to this rate, however, and the fee was reduced to fifteen cents. The bath-house was opened on August 1, and closed on September 19. During that period the number of bathers was 62,175; the receipts were a little more than \$10,000, and the expenses were a few hundred dollars over that figure.

*Parks.* Another great metropolitan park improvement, the beautiful Mystic Valley Parkway, was opened to the public in September. The parkway runs from the centre of Winchester to Medford, on the northeasterly shores of the Mystic lakes. Its extension to connect with other portions of the metropolitan and municipal park systems is proposed.

*Water Supply.* The new metropolitan water system for Greater Boston will begin operation on January 1, 1898, the date fixed upon when the plans were first made. This system brings the water of the Nashua River to reinforce the present supplies of the various municipalities of Greater Boston, which are to come into the possession of the Metropolitan Water Board on January 1. The new system will not be completed for several years to come, but the supply now available will be adequate to the needs of the metropolitan water district for the near future.

*Town Government.* The suburb of Melrose, having grown well past the limit of 12,000 inhabitants required for a city in Massachusetts, has been considering the question of changing its form of government and applying for a city charter. At a special election lately held, there was a decided majority in favor of retaining the town government. There appears to be a growing reluctance to give up the pure democracy of the town form, with its complete referendum and initiative privileges. Brookline still retains its town government and finds it not at all inconvenient.

**Buffalo.**—*Gas Works.*\* A new gas company has been lately incorporated at Albany with a capital of \$7,000,000, which is intended to absorb the three companies now existing—the Citizens', the Buffalo and the Queen City. It has acquired all the stock of the first named, and there is no doubt that the other two will speedily go the same way. The new corporation, it is said, will at once issue bonds to an amount equal to its capital stock, and the public will have to pay both interest on the one and dividends on the other. Under these circumstances it seems vain to expect either an improvement in the quality of gas or a reduction in price, unless the city undertakes the business itself. It is said that the entire existing gas-plant could be duplicated for not more than \$3,500,000. This gives fresh interest to the subject of municipal ownership of natural monopolies.

*Non-Partisanship in Municipal Elections.* Considerable progress toward non-partisanship in municipal government has been made during the last few years. The recent election was the first since the new state constitution took effect in which no state or national issues were at stake, and the most frantic appeals from the press to vote on national party lines were disregarded by the voters. The influence of the Good Government Clubs was very apparent in the results, the candidates on both regular tickets approved, were elected with few exceptions.

At present there is considerable public interest in the subject of direct nominations by the people, without the intervention of caucuses and conventions. A candidate nominated in this way for a ward office in one of the wards was successful—though the fact that he received in addition the nomination of one of the regular parties, may account for his election.

**Pottsville.**†—*Taxpayers' Association of Schuylkill County.* The work of this association has been done heretofore in the line of road and school tax. As regards roads, under the law known as the Losch Road Bill separate taxpayers may petition court for right to make roads in townships, provided other taxpayers join in the payment. The officials elected by townships are paid their fixed salaries, *i. e.*, the supervisor, auditor's clerk, solicitor. The balance of money is spent on the roads, accounts audited annually, and consequently no money is allowed to be wasted, thus reducing the road taxes sometimes as much as fifty per cent. This was made necessary by the

\* Communication of A. L. Richardson, Esq.

† As an instance of the increasingly important role of voluntary organizations in maintaining control over public officials, the experience of the Schuylkill County Taxpayers Association seems particularly valuable. We print the communication of its executive officer William L. Sheaffer, Esq.



extravagant, loose, and illegal methods adopted by officials over whom there was no control, except in the final audit.

In *school* affairs, the accounts are now audited every month and illegal matters exposed. Up to the present time four township school boards have been brought to trial for illegal practices. Among these abuses may be mentioned assessments on teachers, sales of books and supplies at outrageous figures, directors interested in contracts, etc. This has tended to reduce the school tax.

Heretofore the county tax, which covers also the almshouse and prison accounts has been left without any examination, further than that made by a board of auditors, which was usually merely formal and which at present the controller is supposed to do. The continual increase in expense in all accounts, the increase in salaries and number of people employed to do the work, and a consequent increase in tax rates for county purposes finally led to an examination of the ways of transacting business in county affairs. This led to the formation of a Committee of Seven who have the county and poor accounts under their charge, and the past six months or more have been spent in this work. They have only examined the County Commissioners' and Controller's offices and have found evidences of fraud in connection with several public works such as the jail and almshouse improvements. Criminal proceeding for conspiracy have been brought against the County Commissioners, Controller, and Commissioners' clerk.

In addition to this work, they have examined the list of recipients of outdoor relief, comprising some eleven hundred names, receiving between \$45,000 and \$50,000 annually from the county. In this list over three hundred and twenty-five persons were reported as owning property, working, dead, removed, etc. To-day's list is less than seven hundred and fifty, a saving of over \$17,500 a year. They are now examining the indoor poor-house accounts and find the same extravagance and lack of business methods. This gives an idea of the work. It seems to be endless but it must result in a great reduction of expense.

## SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

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### **Investigation of Dispossessed Tenants in New York City.\*—**

Early in February of last year the University Settlement of New York City was given a check of about \$1200 for relief work, this sum having been apportioned to it in the final settling up of the books of the Citizen's Relief Committee of 1893-94. The amount being small it was finally concluded that it could perhaps be most profitably devoted to the relief of deserving families who were in danger of being dispossessed for non-payment of rent. Accordingly arrangements were made with the street cleaning department whereby extra men, paid by the settlement, were to be put at work on the streets. In only exceptional cases was it proposed to relieve families without a labor equivalent for the payment of the rent. A resident of the settlement, with volunteers assisting him, was placed in charge of the investigation of families served with dispossession papers in one judicial district and upon his decision as to the worthiness or unworthiness and general conditions of each family rested the question of money, or work, relief, or refusal of all relief. Originally, therefore, the investigation was simply conducted as a means of disposing in the best way of the money entrusted to the settlement. But soon the value of the investigation in itself, and for other purposes, in revealing the relations between tenant and landlord and the economic conditions of the poorer class of tenement house dwellers, began to interest the settlement and other societies.

It was realized that here was a field which had been scarcely touched, even by relief giving societies, owing in large part to a traditional policy of "no relief" in questions of the payment of rent. Whether the landlords should be more lenient or the tenants more honest, whether the courts were too kind or too severe, whether rent-dodging was a great evil or the willful hallucination of grudging proprietors, whether rent could be paid or not—all these questions of such vital importance and interest to a complete under-

\* Contributed by Francis H. McLean, Fellow in Sociology, University of Pennsylvania.

standing of tenement house life had been so far left the prey of whim and dogmatic statement, unsupported by relevant facts.

From a growing realization of these things, therefore, the investigation assumed a larger aspect and the conclusions finally attained are of considerable scientific interest. The sum held in trust by the settlement lasted for about two months, over the worst part of the winter. Then the Charity Organization Society took up the work, engaging the resident who had had charge of it from the beginning, and it was continued until September 1. The report of the entire investigation is contained in the annual report of the Charity Organization Society, recently issued.

Monthly payment of rent is the almost universal custom in New York City. Generally a tenant is obliged to pay his first month when moving into rooms, but after that there is no hard and fast rule for advance payments, though some landlords insist upon them and will force a tenant to leave if he does not come to time on the first of each month. But most of the owners are more lenient. Unfortunately the report does not have any figures regarding the number of months in arrears each tenant was who was served with dispossess papers. But from the whole tenor of the report it is safe to say that the varying practices of varying landlords and the different practices of the same landlord show most striking contrasts. It is certain that the personal likes or dislikes of the house-keeper are an element in the decisions of landlords. The chief fault which the investigator finds with the landlords is their lack of discretion. He writes, "Though I cannot urge landlords in general to be either more lenient or more strict, I urge them all as strongly as possible to learn more about their tenants; to learn something about their past before they rent their rooms, and to watch them carefully from month to month, or better from week to week."

In the Fifth Judicial District, where the investigations continued during the whole seven months, the number of dispossess complaints sworn to in court ranged from 100 to 250 per week. The population of this district was estimated to be 230,812, in 1894, by the Board of Health. In the Fourth Judicial District in which investigations were made for only the last four months, the weekly number was about the same. The population of this district according to the same authority is 207,367. No attempt was made to visit all this vast number of cases. As far as possible all instances in which dispossession was apparently asked for on other grounds than non-payment of rent were eliminated, though many such cases were found among those investigated. In general there was no selection—

the cases were visited at random—so that the results should be at least typical.

Of the entire 2603 families visited 362 had moved before the investigators came. Of the remaining 2241, 431 were found in need of relief and 454 of time only. The percentage of cases needing relief for the various months is given as follows:

February 4 to April 8, . . . . .	20
April 20 to April 30, . . . . .	12.7
May, . . . . .	14.2
June, . . . . .	21
July, . . . . .	12.8
August, . . . . .	9.4

The large percentage for June is accounted for by the tailors' strike, then in progress. A word of explanation may be required regarding the 454 considered worthy of time only. In dispossess cases the court can grant from one to five days to the tenant to move out. Whenever it was thought that the tenant was honest and would in a few days be able to pay his rent or part of it and arrange a compromise with his landlord the investigators recommended to the judges, who relied much on their decisions, the full limit of the law; and in this way saved many respectable families from the shame of eviction, dispossess papers in many cases having been served simply as the result of a quarrel with a landlord or house-keeper.

But what of the 1356 families out of a total of 2241—just sixty per cent—who were found in need neither of relief nor of time? This represents laziness, viciousness and sheer dishonesty. Just how much is rent-dodging, how much personal animosity, and how much personal character, cannot be told from the figures in the report. But we are informed that "for the good of tenants and landlords alike more than half of those dispossessed probably should have been dispossessed more promptly."

It became very early apparent that rent-dodging was figuring largely on the returns, and it was hoped that the investigation would result in improving conditions in this regard. But these expectations were not realized. "But though," explains the investigator, "we heard that 'since they're investigating around, 't'ain't no longer possible to get time from the judge,' we did not to any marked degree decrease the length of time rent-dodgers live rent free. Though we convinced the judge that a certain tenant deserved no extension of time; and he told the landlord that he could get the warrant to evict this tenant at once, yet this landlord generally did not evict him for several days; he would not pay a marshal two

dollars or more to put the goods on the sidewalk until he believed he could not otherwise within a few days get possession of his rooms. Several landlords waited ten days or two weeks before evicting tenants for whom I had recommended to the judge no extension of time. Further, the five days which at most the judge can give are but a short time as compared with the two weeks, or perhaps the two or the five months, for which the landlord collects no rent before he sends the dispossession notice, plus the week or two for which the tenant has to pay no rent in his new rooms. Hence, in so far as we hope to prevent rent-dodging, and to increase the length of time tenants would live and pay rent in the same rooms, and so by increasing the part of the year for which the landlord receives rent to reduce the rent charged—in so far we were disappointed."

In conclusion the investigator states his belief that in times when there is considerable employment the investigation and relief of the worthy families in danger of eviction is wise and profitable—it not only saves respectable people from this first step downward, but in many cases prevents their becoming acquainted with the ordinary relief agencies, and thereby losing something of self-reliance.

But more important perhaps is the emphatic recommendation for a change in rent collection and policy. "I urge weekly payments," so reads the report, "of rent, instead of monthly payments throughout tenement houses, as now in model tenements, for the laborer could pay one dollar and a half or two dollars out of each week's wage at once to the landlord far more easily than he can accumulate six or eight dollars, in a month. And I urge landlords to insist on payments at the beginning of each week from all tenants, except those in whose families there is sickness. Even when out of work they should pay their rent out of what they have saved while at work, and in times of unusual distress, or of strikes, from what they get from relief funds or strike funds."

**Philadelphia Public Baths.**—Early in 1895, the ANNALS reported the organization of the Public Baths Association of Philadelphia and its plans for the future.

By the erection of its first public bath and laundry at the corner of Gaskill and Leithgow streets, between Fourth and Fifth, and Lombard and South streets, in one of the oldest and most thickly populated sections of the city, these plans are soon to become realities.

Early in September last ground was broken and the structure is now nearing completion and will be opened to the public early

\* Contributed by Mr. Franklin B. Kirkbride.



in the spring. The building covers a lot 40 feet by 60 feet, is built of hard red brick laid in Flemish bond with dark mortar, and is two and one-half stories high. The construction is of brick and iron and the floors of the baths and laundry are to be of concrete.

Half of the basement is to be fitted up as a public laundry where women can do their family washing on the payment of a small fee, and where the towels used in the baths will also be washed. The basement floor is five feet below the street level, and the laundry, a room 23 by 37 feet, lighted by three large windows, is reached by a stairway leading from the women's hall on the first floor. The room is to be fitted with six sets of tubs, twelve drying closets, ironing tables, a laundry stove, soap boiler, power washer and wringer, and a disinfecting tank to contain the towels thrown down through the towel chutes from the floors above. The room will be light and airy, covered with a cement floor and will be provided with a lavatory. The remainder of the basement will be occupied by the boiler and engine room. It can be reached either from the stairway leading down from the first floor or by a side door on Leithgow street. It will contain an 83 horse-power Harrison safety boiler, two Worthington pumps, a feed water heater, hot water generator, blow-off tank, heater and fan, and an engine to run the laundry machinery. The coal and ash pits will be on the Leithgow street side of the room, while the smoke stack rises from an opposite corner. The hot water generator will have a capacity of 2000 gallons per hour, and the fan will provide forced ventilation for every part of the building.

Two entrances on Gaskill street lead into the first floor of the building. The women's entrance opens into a hall, from which a stairway leads down to the laundry and up to the women's baths on the second floor. The other entrance leads directly into the men's waiting room, a large and airy room lighted by ample windows, wainscoted in pine, and provided with wooden benches. An office so situated as to overlook both this room and the women's hallway is located between the men's waiting room and women's entrance and a single person will be able to take in money and give out towels and soap to both sets of customers, although each department is entirely separate.

From the men's waiting room one enters the men's baths. This department is supplied with twenty-six shower baths, the ring shower being the form adopted, one tub, two water-closets, two urinals and one hand-basin. Allowing twenty minutes to each bather this provides facilities for more than nine hundred baths a day. There will be no swimming pool in the building, shower

baths being used instead. In this respect the example of the People's and Baron de Hirsch Fund Baths of New York, and the overwhelming testimony of medical experts as to the comparative merits of the two systems are being followed. The baths are separated by iron partitions seven feet high, painted white, and over each compartment is stretched a network of heavy wire. The room is lighted on one side by a row of windows above the tops of the baths, and on the opposite side by a skylight and windows, thus securing ample light and thorough ventilation.

The bather enters an outer dressing room about four feet square, and beyond this and separated from it by a swinging iron door, is the inner compartment of the same size, where the shower, supplied with both hot and cold water, is located. The floors of the dressing rooms and baths slope inward and drain into a gutter running along the back of the baths. The partitions between the baths being from three to six inches above the concrete floor, the entire room can be flushed out with ease. The arrangement of the dressing rooms and bathing compartments insures privacy for each bather, and the simplicity of their construction will greatly aid in keeping them pure and clean.

From the women's hallway, on the first floor, stairs lead to the women's waiting room on the second story. This room opens into the women's baths, which are supplied with fourteen showers, three tubs and two water-closets. They are to have a capacity about one-third less than that of the men's department. The room is lighted by a central skylight as well as by small windows on either side above the tops of the bathing compartments.

On the Gaskill street front of the second floor are two rooms fitted up for the use of the janitor, and above these rooms is the tank loft, where two tanks of 3000 gallons capacity each will furnish the building with its water supply.

The plans of the building were prepared by Louis E. Marié, architect, of the firm of Furness, Evans & Co., and are the result of a careful study of the plans of foreign bathing establishments, and of the experience of the People's Baths in New York, the Yonker's Municipal and other baths.

It is proposed to charge each bather a small fee, probably five cents, for the use of the bath, towel and soap, and if the same success attend these baths as the People's Baths in New York, they should become nearly self-supporting.

The Public Baths Association is still engaged in raising the funds for the construction of its building. The land was purchased for \$5750, and the erection of the bath house and laundry will cost

\$22,000 more. Of this sum \$8000 remains to be collected. Donations should be sent to the treasurer of the association at 517 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.

The officers of the Public Baths Association of Philadelphia are as follows: Board of Trustees, Eugene Delano, president; Barclay H. Warburton, chairman of finance committee; Sarah D. Lowrie, secretary, 1827 Pine street; Franklin B. Kirkbride, treasurer, 517 Chestnut street; Charlemagne Tower, Jr.; Mrs. Hunt; Alfred G. Clay; Mrs. Perit Dulles; Mrs. John Sparhawk Jones; Rev. Walter Lowrie; Dr. Lawrence S. Smith.

**Causes of Poverty.**—The Committee on Statistics of the New York Charity Organization Society, composed of Professors Richmond Mayo Smith, Franklin H. Giddings and Mr. Fred. W. Holls, has attempted a statistical analysis of some of the more important cases treated by that society in recent years. The results have been published in the last annual report of the Charity Organization Society in New York City. The committee took 500 cases, most of them beginning in 1890, and followed the history of each case to date. These 500 cases made applications for relief in this period as follows:

500 applied only once.  
184 applied a second time.  
87 applied a third time.  
35 applied a fourth time.  
12 applied a fifth time.  
7 applied a sixth time.  
4 applied a seventh time.  
3 applied an eighth time.

832

The report goes on to say:

"It was somewhat difficult to distinguish what was a separate application. In many cases the treatment was continuous over several weeks or months; in other cases the committee simply continued the case until it finally disappeared. We have counted it as a separate case only when a definite period of time has elapsed between the last record and a new application from the individual. It is extremely difficult to say exactly when a case is closed. After aid has been given or work found, a district committee will often want to keep an eye on the family and see that it maintains its position. In many difficult cases it is almost absolutely necessary simply to keep them open in hope that something may turn up. There is no system of marking the cards to indicate when a case is really closed.

"The repetition of the cases shows a considerable amount of chronic pauperism, and the real amount is greater than the figures

indicate, for generally those that are repeated remain under treatment for a long time, while many of those which applied only once were simply temporarily embarrassed. We thought of counting the length of period during which each case was under treatment during each application, but the closing of a case is so uncertain, and the record so uncertain, that the experiment was unsuccessful."

In reference to the actual causes of poverty the report is more complete:

"The most interesting, and at the same time the most difficult, problem connected with an analysis of such cases as these is to determine the real cause of destitution. This is one of the most vexed questions among persons engaged in charitable or philanthropic enterprises. The causes of poverty are always complex, and so complex that they are generally incapable of analysis. Again, the causes are immediate or remote, and often the more remote causes are the most important. It requires great experience and intelligence on the part of workers in charity to give even approximately the fundamental reason why a certain family has come to destitution. To classify cases from records without personal knowledge of each case, and then simply to count the cases, is a very inadequate method of arriving at the truth. The primary difficulty, of course, is to reach a classification. The one adopted by Mr. Warner in his book on American charities is: (1) Causes indicating misconduct; (2) Causes indicating misfortune. Under the first head come drink, immorality, laziness, shiftlessness and inefficiency, crime and dishonesty, a roving disposition. Under the second head come lack of normal support, matters of employment, matters of personal capacity, such as sickness or death in family, etc. The trouble with such a classification is that one cause may lie behind another, as drink is often the cause of lack of employment, of sickness or accident. On the other hand, lack of employment may lead to drink, immorality or laziness. In many cases one form of misfortune leads to another, as sickness leads to lack of employment, or lack of employment leads to sickness; and most often various forms of misconduct, such as drink and shiftlessness, immorality and crime, are present in the same person. The personal equation of the investigator and of the tabulator has great influence in determining whether a particular case falls under the head of misfortune or misconduct. The influence of environment and heredity is disregarded in this classification. The whole subject is ably discussed by Mr. Warner in Chapter II of his book.

"With the limited number of cases that have been analyzed in this investigation, it would be impossible to expect any very con-

clusive results. We have endeavored, however, to make up for the small amount of the material by a careful and intelligent analysis, and by approaching the subject from three different points. We have first taken the alleged cause of distress—that is, the reason assigned by the person applying for relief. This, of course, will present the most favorable side, and the one most calculated to excite sympathy. The stress will be laid on misfortune rather than misconduct. The inquiry will be useful as indicating the most common kinds of misfortune. We have, secondly, tabulated the real cause of distress, as gathered by the tabulator from the whole record. This, of course, is the judgment of an outside party, and the emphasis will be laid upon misfortune or misconduct according to the disposition of the investigator. We have, thirdly, the character of the man and woman as gathered from the record. This is supplementary evidence as to the real cause of distress. We go on now to present these three points of view.

ALLEGED CAUSE OF DISTRESS.—SUPPLEMENTARY.

	Princi- pal.	Loss of work.	Sick- ness.	Drink.	Insuf- ficient earnings.	Other causes.
Loss of employment . . . .	313	..	69	1	1	3
Sickness or accident . . . .	226	36	..	1	12	7
Intemperance . . . . .	25	10	4	..	2	1
Insufficient earnings . . . .	52	..	7	1	..	..
Physical defect or old age . .	45	2	5	1	1	1
Death of wage-earner . . . .	40	11	14	..	4	1
Desertion . . . . .	40	3	9	..	4	2
Other causes and uncertain	103	2	3	..	..	1
Total . . . . .	844	64	111	4	24	16

"In this table we consider not the total number of cases, but the total number of applications. . . . but for purposes of analysis this is of little consequence. The cause most frequently alleged is loss of employment, 37.1 per cent; next to that is sickness, 26.7 per cent. Of less consequence are insufficient earnings, physical defect or old age, death of the wage-earner and desertion.

"An attempt was made to follow the example of Mr. Booth and introduce supplementary causes as well as principal causes. About the only result, however, is that sickness often accompanies loss of employment, and that loss of employment often accompanies sickness or accident. It is clearly seen in this whole table how disposed applicants for relief are to attribute their distress to circumstances beyond their control.

"In the following table we have an attempt to analyze the real cause of distress, according to the judgment of the tabulator as



gathered from the full record. In chronic cases the same cause is apt to appear in the successive applications. It was thought that this might lead to undue accumulation of particular causes. A separate tabulation, therefore, was made for the 500 first applications, and then for the total—832 applications. The table is as follows:

THE REAL CAUSE OF DISTRESS.

	<i>First Applications.</i>		<i>Total Applications.</i>	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Lack of employment . . .	115	25.	184	22.1
Sickness or accident . . .	102	20.4	164	19.7
Physical defects or old age .	27	5.4	42	5.0
Death of wage-earner . . .	18	3.6	30	3.6
Desertion . . . . .	15	3.	24	2.9
Intemperance . . . . .	87	17.4	166	19.9
Shiftlessness . . . . .	50	10.	101	12.2
No need . . . . .	86	17.2	121	14.6
Total . . . . .	500	100.0	832	100.0

"In this table it will be seen that emphasis is laid on misconduct rather than on misfortune. The difference between a person's judgment of the cause of his misfortune and another person's is shown by contrasting the following figures:

	Alleged cause.	Real cause.	Alleged cause.	Real cause.
Lack of employment . . . . .	313	184	35.9	22.1
Sickness or accident . . . . .	226	164	26.7	19.7
Intemperance . . . . .	25	166	..	19.9
Shiftlessness . . . . .	..	101	..	12.2
No real need . . . . .	..	121	..	14.6

"The difference between the two sets of returns is obvious. Where lack of employment and sickness have been alleged as accounting for 539 applications, or 62.6 per cent of the total, they are believed by the tabulator to really account for only 348 applications, or 41.8 per cent. On the other hand, intemperance comes in as the real cause in 19.9 per cent; shiftlessness in 12.2 per cent of the applications, and in 14.6 per cent of the applications it was judged that there was no real need. It is very probable that these judgments are severe, but the result shows how frequently, at least, the personal character is a contributory cause of poverty.

"An attempt was made when reading the records to determine the general character of the man and woman—that is, the adult members of the family. Such classification is at the best very rough, and does not give us much information. It may be said that the character was put down as good unless something distinctly

to the contrary appeared. The results are given in the following table:

## PERSONAL CHARACTER OF MAN AND WOMAN.

	Male.	Female.	Total.	Percentages.
Good . . . . .	122	231	353	45
Criminal . . . . .	15	1	16	2
Insane . . . . .		1	1	
Intemperate . . . . .	81	56	137	17
Shiftless . . . . .	56	52	108	14
Suspicious . . . . .	13	30	43	6
Untruthful . . . . .	5	15	20	3
Uncertain . . . . .	38	65	103	13
Total . . . . .	330	451	781	100
"Shiftless" includes				
	Male.	Female.	Total.	
Professional beggars . . . . .	5	5	10	
Loss of independence . . . . .	1	3	4	
Lack of push . . . . .	2	1	3	
Laziness . . . . .	1		1	
Extravagance . . . . .		2	2	
"Worthless" . . . . .	7	5	12	
Prostitute . . . . .		1	1	
Total . . . . .	16	17	33	
Shiftless indefinite . . . . .	40	35	75	
Total . . . . .	56	52	108	

"It would seem from this table that the judgment of the investigators was lenient. In nearly one-half of the cases the character of the men and women was said to be good.

**Goodrich House, Cleveland.**—Within the last few months there has been opened in the city an ambitious social settlement house known as "Goodrich House." It is a beautiful bit of Gothic architecture with Renaissance detail, built of Florentine brick, located in one of the poorer sections of the city and erected through the generosity of Mrs. Samuel Mather. It has a frontage on two streets of 122 by 97 feet, is three stories in height and has spacious and commodious quarters for every form of social settlement work. Provision is made for all sorts of clubs and kindergartens. A completely equipped gymnasium, bath rooms, parlors, sewing rooms, a public laundry and reading rooms make Goodrich House one of the finest, if not the finest, institutional house in America. It is presided over by several resident workers. It is hoped that it will prove an agency of great good in reclaiming the section of the city in which it is situated and raising the standard of living of those who participate in its advantages.

Some of the unique features of Goodrich House have been described by the Head Resident, Rev. Starr Cadwallader, in *The Commons* for October as follows:—

"The Goodrich Social Settlement, in Cleveland, is unique among American settlements in that it is the first of the settlements to possess at the time of its organization a building of considerable size, constructed expressly for its use. The possession of such a building presents difficulties and imposes responsibilities which were appreciated, at least in part, by those who planned for such a thing and made it possible. The settlement was incorporated May 20, 1897. The articles of incorporation state that, "The purposes for which this corporation is formed is to provide a centre for such activities as are commonly associated with Christian social settlement work." The incorporation was made to facilitate the work to be carried on in and through Goodrich House, a building erected at a cost of more than eighty thousand dollars by Mrs. Samuel Mather.

"Work had been going on for two years, which demonstrated the fact that something might be accomplished in the downtown district of Cleveland along such lines as are followed by settlements in other cities. The need for such effort was soon evident. The possibility of organizing and maintaining boys' clubs was shown by Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Haines, who brought together boys from the street and formed them into clubs, which increased in membership during two or three years to about two hundred. This was done under circumstances not particularly favorable. The rooms obtainable for a meeting place were unattractive and poorly ventilated; nevertheless, the boys came. The greatest difficulty was that of finding helpers who could or would serve with regularity. A sewing school for girls had drawn a considerable number of pupils for some two or three years. Last winter the name "Saturday Club" was given to this gathering, and its program was extended to include recreation in addition to the instruction in sewing. In April, 1895, a guild for women, having for its object mutual helpfulness, was organized from the remnants of a mothers' meeting.

"These activities were carried on under the auspices of the First Presbyterian Church until Goodrich House was finished, when they were transferred thither to be conducted under its management. These activities, together with one of the kindergartens of the Cleveland Day Nursery and Free Kindergarten Association, for which a room had been provided, formed the nucleus for work when the house was formerly opened, May 20, 1897. . . .

"The house is the result of a plan which was developed and modified in various particulars after the consideration of several years. Originally the sole idea was to provide a place where the parish work of the First Presbyterian Church could be enlarged, as the work of a church so situated might be. To find a suitable site in the immediate vicinity of the church proved a difficult matter. As time went on, each year showed more convincingly that the field was too large for any one church to care for, and that opportunity was offered for many workers of varied gifts. Finally the present location for the building was fixed upon. Meanwhile the settlement idea had been growing and proving its worth wherever conducted in the right spirit. This led to the conviction that the field here was one where a settlement might be more useful than a parish house.

"A name for the building was not far to seek. Twenty-five years ago Rev. Dr. William H. Goodrich was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. Dr. Goodrich was a man of delightful personality, who combined broad culture with deep sympathy for humanity, and took the greatest interest in the welfare of this locality. His name, suggestive of much that harmonizes with settlement ideals, could be applied with peculiar appropriateness to a home devoted to settlement work."